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**THE TOMB OF AKHETHOTEP HEMI**

**RE-USED BY NEBKAUHOR IDU**

Hrobka Achethotepem Hemiho usurpovaná  
Nebkauhorem Iduem

DOCTORAL THESIS

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Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci napsal samostatně s využitím pouze uvedených a řádně citovaných pramenů a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

Abdou Mohamed Abdou Mohamed



## Abstract

In my thesis I focus on the Saqqara tomb of the vizier Akhethotep, which was usurped by the prince Nebkauhor (with the intimate name of Idu). The tomb, located in the area north of the causeway of Unis and south of the enclosure wall of the step pyramid of king Djoser, was excavated by Egyptian archaeologist Selim Hassan during the archaeological season of 1937-8. Unfortunately, the tomb was later inadequately, only summarily published. With regard to the historical importance of the inscriptions and scenes which survived in the tomb, I decided to work up these important archaeological and epigraphic materials in my PhD dissertation. The first chapter of the dissertation includes a brief introduction to the Saqqara Cemetery. The second chapter deals with the history of the so-called Unis Cemetery and the architecture of the tomb. The third chapter contains description and interpretation of the scenes and inscriptions. The fourth chapter is a sort of an appendix with the list fragments of reliefs found in the tomb and belonging to its original decoration. And the final fifth chapter contains an overview of the turbulent times at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, and notes on the life of the two tomb owners, Akhethotep and Nebkauhor. This section also includes an analysis of material relating to the dating of the tomb.

Ve své disertaci se zabývám hrobkou vezíra Achethotepa v Sakkáře, již si posléze zabral princ Nebkauhor (přezdíváný Idu). Hrobku prozkoumal v archeologické sezóně let 1937-8 egyptský archeolog Selim Hassan a později ji neadekvátně, jen povrchně publikoval. Vzhledem k historickému významu napsal a scén v hrobce jsem se rozhodl ji důkladně zpracovat v rámci své doktorské disertace. Hrobka prince Nebkauhora se nachází severně od vzestupné cesty Venisovy pyramidy a jižně od ohradní zdi Stupňovité pyramidy krále Džosera, na západ od hrobky muže jménem Nianchba a na východ od skalní hrobky Hermeruovy. První kapitola této studie tvoří stručný úvod k sakkárskému pohřebišti. Druhá kapitola se zabývá tzv. Venisovým pohřebištem a architekturou hrobky. Třetí kapitola obsahuje popis a interpretaci scén a napsů. Čtvrtá kapitola je svého druhu dodatek se seznamem fragmentů náležejících k hrobce. Poslední, pátá kapitola obsahuje přehled hlavních událostí na přelomu turbulentního období konce 5. a počátku 6. dynastie a poznámky o postavení obou majitelů hrobky, Achethotepa a Nebkauhora. Tato část rovněž zahrnuje diskusi k materiálu relevantnímu pro dataci hrobky.

**For My Parents,  
In Gratitude for their Patience and Support**

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## Abbreviations and Bibliography

### Periodicals and Series

- ÄA** *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden*
- AJA** *American Journal of Archaeology, New York–Baltimore*
- ASAE** *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo*
- BIFAO** *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo*
- CdE** *Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.*
- GM** *Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen*
- JARCE** *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston*
- JEA** *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JNES** *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- KMT** *KMT A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*
- LÄ** W. Helck, H. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vols I–VII, Wiesbaden 1973–1992
- LD** K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* 12 vols, Berlin 1849–1858
- MDAIK** *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
- PM** B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927–1951; rev. ed., Oxford 1960
- PN** H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935
- RdE** *Revue d'Égyptologie*
- SAK** *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
- Urk. I** K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches I*, Leipzig 1922
- Wb** A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds.), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–VI and Belegstellen I–VII*, Leipzig 1926–1931
- ZÄS** *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Saqqara, the largest cemetery of the Memphite Necropolis and the very heart of the pyramid fields, contains a great number of tombs beginning with those of the members of the first royal families and high officials from the First Dynasty to the Christian era.

It is thought that the rulers of the First and the Second Dynasties used to build for themselves two tombs, one in Abydos, and another in Saqqara, although at present an opinion prevails that the tombs in Saqqara belonged not to the kings, but members of the ruling elite.<sup>1</sup> In the Third Dynasty, its first king, Djoser, built his pyramid complex slightly to the north of the cemetery of his Second Dynasty predecessors. His tomb, the Step Pyramid, is considered to be the first large monument built in stone in the ancient world.<sup>2</sup> To the south of the Step Pyramid complex is another pyramid dating to the Third Dynasty belonging to Sekhemkhet.<sup>3</sup>

The rulers of the Fourth Dynasty built their tombs elsewhere: in Meidum, Dahshur, Giza and Abu Roash, while some of the Fifth Dynasty kings built at Abusir. However, Userkaf, and the last three kings of the Fifth Dynasty- Menkauhor, Djedkare and Unis<sup>4</sup>- chose for Saqqara as their burial place.

The rulers of the Sixth Dynasty remained in the Saqqara cemetery and so did the last kings of the Old Kingdom. Several monuments dating to the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom have also survived here.<sup>5</sup> In the New Kingdom, there is general Horemheb's private tomb,<sup>6</sup> built before his ascent to the throne as king of Egypt. It can thus be seen that Saqqara remained a popular place for the royal cemeteries over the centuries.

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<sup>1</sup> Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, passim

<sup>2</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 108-140

<sup>3</sup> Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-Khet*, passim

<sup>4</sup> For more information about Unis Cemetery see, (Chapter II)

<sup>5</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 700-1

<sup>6</sup> G. Martin, *Horemheb*, passim

In my dissertation I shall focus on the Saqqara tomb of the prince Nebkauhor. This tomb was excavated by Selim Hassan during the archaeological season of 1937-8. A brief report about the result of the excavation was published by Selim Hassan himself and reedited by Zaki Iskander in 1975. (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1937-1938, Vol. I, (Re-ed) by Z. Iskander, *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her*, Cairo (1975). The excavation of Selim Hassan resulted in discovering of twelve mastabas of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, clearance of the causeway of Unis and part of the valley temple. In the course of the clearance of Unis's causeway, the discovery was made of a large underground cemetery of the Second Dynasty, cut in the rock and containing a series of galleries.<sup>7</sup>

The mastaba of Nebkauhor (with the intimate name of Idu) is located in the area north of the causeway of Unis and south of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid of king Djoser, west of the tomb of Niankhba,<sup>8</sup> and east of the rock-cut tomb of Hermeru.

The previously cited first publication of Nebkauhor's tomb is largely incomplete; the inscriptions lack philological commentary, most of the scenes remained unexplained and also the plans of the monument are far from perfect. Therefore, this present dissertation includes:

- A detailed plan of the monument.
- Complete photographic documentation of the decoration program of the tomb.
- A description of the architecture of the tomb.
- An interpretation of the scenes.
- An interpretation (facsimile, hieroglyphic transcription and commented translation of all inscriptions) and a comparative study explaining the meaning and precise dating of the tomb of Nebkauhor in the broader context of the Old Kingdom tombs at the Saqqara necropolis.

It is important to explain why I chose just this tomb from many other insufficiently explored Saqqara tombs for an intensive study. The critical period of the

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<sup>7</sup> Hassan, 'Excavations at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, 503

<sup>8</sup> Idem, *Hemet-Re*, 41-8



late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty, from which the tomb dates, needs to be studied in the light of new historical sources. There is a severe lack of detailed information referring to that period, and the ownership of the tomb raises a great many questions which have previously not been answered.

The tomb owner was the King's eldest son of his body, and a vizier; therefore, he was a man of considerable importance. The tomb of Nebkauhor is also very important for the study of the highest civil administrative titles in the Old Kingdom.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Akhethotep, the first owner of this tomb, and also the one for whom most of the tomb's decoration was carved, postdates some well known tomb owners such as Ptahshepses from Abusir, and Ty from Saqqara, as well as Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep, at Saqqara. He also predates the well-known Sixth Dynasty tomb-owners such as: Kagemni, Mereruka and Ankhmahor, so he was alive at a most interesting time in Old Kingdom history. Nonetheless, previous studies have omitted discussion on this dating aspect. In his description of the northern wall in the pillared hall, S. Hassan,<sup>10</sup> for instance, failed to describe several scenes and texts which I examine and evaluate in my study of the tomb of Nebkauhor. Moreover, there are errors in S. Hassan's translation of the tomb inscriptions, especially in relation to Nebkauhor's biography.<sup>11</sup>

The most difficult problem in my study of the tomb of Nebkauhor was that this monument was used by the SCA as a Magazine (no.17), so it was difficult for me to work inside as it was crowded with blocks, boxes and coffins. Therefore, prior to the study I had to transport the blocks, boxes and coffins out of the tomb to the *El-Mohemat Magazine*<sup>12</sup> in Saqqara. A second great problem in my work was that I had to choose and collect all the relief fragments from the original decoration of the tomb of Nebkauhor among the artifacts stored inside this tomb-magazine.

In my study, I used the relevant archaeological sources and written documents that refer to the tomb of Nebkauhor and the history, art and architecture of the Old

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<sup>9</sup> Strudwick, N., 'Notes on the mastaba of *3ht-htp; Hmi* and *Nb-k3w-Hr; Idu* at Saqqara' *GM* 56, 1982, 89-94

<sup>10</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 8-44

<sup>11</sup> Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 81-103

<sup>12</sup> Which means "Magazine of Commissions"?

Kingdom (see Bibliography). Invaluable information was discovered by the comparative study of the scenes and inscriptions from Nebkauhor's tomb with other tombs from the late Fifth Dynasty and early Sixth Dynasty tombs in Saqqara and this of course made extensive visits to those sites a very time-consuming part of my work – but one that I found very enjoyable.

## **OVERVIEW OF THE CONTENTS**

The first chapter of my dissertation contains the introduction. The second chapter deals with the Unis Cemetery and the architecture of the tomb. The third chapter contains the description and interpretation of the scenes and inscriptions. The fourth chapter list the fragments of the tomb. And the final fifth chapter contains notes on the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, and deals with the life of the two tomb owners, Akhethotep and Nebkauhor. This section also includes an analysis of material relating to the dating of the tomb.

## Chapter II: The Unis Cemetery

The Unis Cemetery was originally the cemetery of the first three kings of the Second Dynasty.<sup>13</sup> Later on Djoser chose this area in which to build his pyramid complex.<sup>14</sup> Little is known about the development of this cemetery between the reign of Djoser and Unis,<sup>15</sup> but we do know that the trenches of the Dry Moat surrounding the Djoser's pyramid complex were extensively used during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties for the construction of non-royal mastabas that were built in the side wall of its trenches.<sup>16</sup>

The outside of the south trench of the Dry Moat surrounding the pyramid complex of Djoser was filled in for the construction of Unis's causeway and his boat pits.<sup>17</sup> While the inner south trench was treated likewise, the central part was filled in for establishing a cemetery for the royal family and the high officials.<sup>18</sup>

According to Peter Munro,<sup>19</sup> the cemetery of Unis consists of three lines of tombs, line A, line B and line C, all being close to the mortuary temple of Unis. In this part one can find the double mastaba of the royal wives Nebet and Khenut, a double mastaba which rests on the bedrock between the inner and outer southern trenches of the Dry Moat,<sup>20</sup> while the main part of the double mastaba was built above the filled trench.<sup>21</sup>

Close to that double mastaba, there are three mastabas dedicated to the high officials: the vizier Iynefert,<sup>22</sup> the overseer of Upper Egypt Unisankh<sup>23</sup> and the vizier

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<sup>13</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 613-614

<sup>14</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 108-140

<sup>15</sup> Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, 3-4

<sup>16</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 13

<sup>17</sup> Swelim, 'The Dry Moat of Netereykhet complex', in J. Baines et al. (eds.): *Pyramid studies and other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, 1988, 15

<sup>18</sup> Onderka, *o.c* 13

<sup>19</sup> Munro, *o.c* passim

<sup>20</sup> Munro, *o.c* 36

<sup>21</sup> Munro, *o.c* 3-8

<sup>22</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 11-31

Ihy.<sup>24</sup> The three mastabas were built on the same level as the double mastaba of the royal wives.<sup>25</sup>

On the south east side of the Unis's complex there are several tombs dating back to early Fifth Dynasty: the tomb of Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep,<sup>26</sup> dating to mid of Fifth Dynasty, most probably to the reigns of Neuserre or Menkauhor, the tomb of Nefer<sup>27</sup> dating to early of Fifth Dynasty and the tomb of Irukaptah<sup>28</sup> dating to the same time as the tomb of Nefer, etc.

The Unis Cemetery North-East is located to the east of the Unis Cemetery North-West.<sup>29</sup> There we find another group of large mastabas, called by Munro, line C consisting of two large mastabas of the vizier Nyankhba and the vizier Akhetotep Hemi (this tomb – the subject of this dissertation - usurped by Nebkauhor Idu); the other mastabas in this area belonged to Kairer, Akhetihotep, Bebi, etc.<sup>30</sup>

At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the vizier Mehu built his mastaba to the east of the mastaba of Ihy. The mastaba of Akhetotep Hemi and the mastaba of Ihy were usurped (respectively) by the King's son Nebakauhor Idu and the King's daughter Sesheshet Idut during the Sixth Dynasty most probably during the reign of Pepy II.

The Unis Cemetery was used until the Late Period, when large Saite-Persian shaft tombs were built within the mortuary temple area belonging to Unis and to the south of Unis's pyramid.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Onderka, *o.c* 54

<sup>24</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *o.c* 33-73

<sup>25</sup> Munro, *o.c* 36

<sup>26</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnun und Chnumhotep*, passim.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, passim

<sup>28</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, passim

<sup>29</sup> Munro, *o.c* 6-7

<sup>30</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 613-653

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 648-649

## The Architecture of the tomb of Nebkauhor

### The History of the tomb's discovery and its first exploration:

The tomb of Nebkauhor (Idu)<sup>32</sup> was excavated by Selim Hassan and Zakaria Goneim during the 1937-1938 excavation seasons for the service of Egyptian Antiquities. A brief report about the main results of the excavation was published by Selim Hassan<sup>33</sup> and reedited by Zaki Iskander<sup>34</sup> in 1975. The aforementioned excavation of Selim Hassan resulted in:

- 1- the discovery of twelve mastabas of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.
- 2- the clearance of the causeway leading from the valley temple of Unis to the mortuary temple of Unis.
- 3- the clearance of a part of the valley temple of Unis, situated on the edge of the cultivation zone.
- 4- the discovery, during the course of the clearance of the Unis's causeway, of a large underground cemetery of the Second Dynasty, cut in the rock and containing a series of galleries.<sup>35</sup>

The mastaba of Nebkauhor (Idu) is located in Saqqara, north of the causeway of Unis and south of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid of king Djoser, west of the tomb of Niankhba,<sup>36</sup> and east of the rock-cut tomb of Hermeru.<sup>37</sup>

The mastaba is considered to be the largest tomb at the causeway of Unis; it measures 34.20 x 18.80 m., and its extant height is 4.20 m.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 627-9

<sup>33</sup> Hassan, 'Excavations at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, passim

<sup>34</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, passim

<sup>35</sup> Hassan, 'Excavations at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, 503

<sup>36</sup> Hassan, *Hemet-Re*, 41-8

<sup>37</sup> Idem, 'Excavation at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, 512-19

<sup>38</sup> Idem, *Neb-kaw-Her*, 5

## **The superstructure:**<sup>39</sup>

### The façade:

The façade of the mastaba faces south, and retains four lower courses of local limestone and two upper courses of fine white limestone; the uppermost course survived only partly. The western wall consists of three courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, and so does the northern wall of which only slabs, occurring in the middle, remain intact. The eastern wall retains three courses of local limestone, the original courses of limestone of the façade are partly concealed by masonry which was built by the usurper Nebkauhor in order to hide the name of the original tomb owner Akhethotep,<sup>40</sup> whose name he erased throughout the mastaba substituting it with his own name.<sup>41</sup> The original façade depicts the first tomb owner facing east, while the eastern part of the façade shows the striding figures of the first tomb owner with his titles.<sup>42</sup>

### The entrance (pl. I, A):

The door gives access to a narrow passage 3.18 m long which widens inside in three stages, most probably the doors made of wood. The first one is 1.24 m, the second one is 1.80 m, and the third one is 0.68 m long. On the right side of the entrance are three uninscribed courses of fine white limestone, 1.26 m high, while on the western side of the entrance are two courses of fine white limestone, 1.33 m high, decorated with scenes in two registers. The lower register depicts the dragging of two standing statues of the tomb owner, placed upon a sledge drawn by a gang of men, while the upper register depicts the dragging of a sledge with two seated statues of the tomb owner, a man burning incense, and a gang of men hauling on the rope.

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<sup>39</sup> For the description of the scenes, see chapter three

<sup>40</sup> Hassan, *Neb-kaw-Her*, 6

<sup>41</sup> Idem, 'Excavation at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, 512

<sup>42</sup> Idem, *Neb-kaw-Her*, 6

### The court (pl. I, B):

The court measures 5.60 x 2.38 m the extant height of its walls is 1.20 m. The southern wall consists of one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone, the upper course being merely a fragment, while the western end of the second course is lacking. The western and northern wall have each one course of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, while the eastern wall retains only one course of local limestone. On the southern wall are depicted the remains of a seine-netting scene. The eastern end of the second course of the northern wall is missing; in the upper part of this course depicts a spear fishing scene in relief and is painted. The eastern wall is decorated with a scene of offering bearers and offering tables.

### The Pillared Hall (pl. I, C):

At the eastern end of the northern wall of the court is a 0.82 m wide doorway, the jambs of which retain only one course of local limestone. This door leads to the pillared hall measuring 9.90 x 9.45 m. and now 3.80 m high.<sup>43</sup> The floor of the hall is unpaved, while its roof is supported by nine pillars made of limestone and arranged in three rows of three pillars each; the pillars are decorated with the figures of the first tomb owner with his titles. Each pillar measures approximately 1.69 x 1.65 m x 3.03 m high. According to S. Hassan, the hall was illuminated by means of sixteen openings cut in the roof, arranged in four rows of four openings on each side.<sup>44</sup>

This pillared hall was built according to the same plan as the pillared hall of the tomb of Nyankhba, but with a slight difference in the number of pillars: the roof of the pillared hall of Nebkauhor is supported with nine pillars made of limestone and arranged in three rows of three pillars, while the roof of the pillared hall of Nyankhba is supported with sixteen pillars made of limestone and arranged in four rows of four pillars.<sup>45</sup> Each hall has a staircase located in the northern side of the pillared hall and this leads to the roof of the tomb.

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>44</sup> Hassan, 'Excavation at Saqqara', *ASAE* 38, 1938, 513

<sup>45</sup> *Idem*, *Hemet-Re*, 43; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 629

### **The first architrave:**

The second architrave is placed between the second and the third pillar. This architrave- 2.64 m long, 0.61 m high and 0.84 m thick- is decorated on its western side only. The scene is largely damaged, but it originally scene depicted six striding figures of the first tomb owner with his titles.<sup>46</sup>

### **The second architrave:**

The first architrave is placed between the seventh pillar and the northern wall. It is 2.64 m long, 0.61 m high and 0.84 m thick. The architrave is decorated with a scene of five striding figures of the first tomb owner with his titles.<sup>47</sup>

### **The northern wall:**

The northern wall is the best-preserved part of the pillared hall. Its lower part consists of two courses of local limestone and its upper part consists of four courses of fine white limestone. The wall is divided into several registers, decorated with scenes of offering bearers, men cooking geese and one plucking a goose, while the life-size seated figure of the tomb owner looks on. Other scenes represent dancers, offering tables, four shrines decorated with a *hkr* frieze, the journey to Sais,<sup>48</sup> slaughtering,<sup>49</sup> musicians,<sup>50</sup> a board-game called 'senet',<sup>51</sup> and finally the *Mww* dancers.<sup>52</sup>

### **The southern wall:**

All that remains of this wall are five blocks from the uppermost course and the bottom course between which is a modern masonry built by Hassan. The last block at the eastern end of the upper course is missing. This wall was decorated with the

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>47</sup> *Idem, Neb-kaw-Her*, 10-11

<sup>48</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 46-55.

<sup>49</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 24

<sup>50</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 32

<sup>51</sup> Push, *Das Senet- brettspiel*, 26-32.

<sup>52</sup> For a complete interpretation see, H. Junker, *MDAIK IX*, 1-40; Altenmüller, 'Zur Frage der Mww', in: *SAK 2*, 1975 : 2-7



scenes of gardening and vintage,<sup>53</sup> felling the trees,<sup>54</sup> goats in the bushes<sup>55</sup> and a gang of men carrying the long trunk of a tree.

### **The eastern wall:**

This wall was originally built of two courses of local limestone (at the bottom) and three courses of fine white limestone above those rows. The two bottom courses are intact, but only one block remains of the third course.<sup>56</sup> The wall was decorated with the scenes of agriculture, the papyrus gatherers,<sup>57</sup> the boat construction,<sup>58</sup> the netting of fish,<sup>59</sup> gutting fish, and the estate managers, all of which have parallels in other tombs.<sup>60</sup>

### **The western wall:**

The western wall originally consisted of two courses of local limestone (at the bottom) and five courses of fine white limestone. The two bottom courses are intact and are painted black.<sup>61</sup> The fourth course is entirely lacking. This wall was decorated with scenes of a gang of priests and fowling.<sup>62</sup> An important part of this wall covers a long inscription<sup>63</sup> which includes the tomb owner's autobiography.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, 10

<sup>54</sup> For complete scene see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 73-4

<sup>55</sup> Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 15

<sup>56</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 32

<sup>57</sup> D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig, *Mummies and magic*, 85; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 42, 101; Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 132-3

<sup>58</sup> Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, 21, 114-15

<sup>59</sup> Seine-netting scene appeared the first time at Saqqara tombs probably in the tomb of Kaaper, see Bárta, (Bárta, *South Abusir*, 162-3, but the fishing scene appeared at the first time in Maidum in the tomb of Rahotep according to Harpur, (Harpur, *Decoration*, 145, and Giza cemetery in the tomb Kawab, see Simpson, Simpson, *Kawab*, 4

<sup>60</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 150-1

<sup>61</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 37

<sup>62</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 19

<sup>63</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 39-43

<sup>64</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 261-2

### The Serdab (pl. I, D):

Adjacent to the western wall of the pillared hall is an oblong serdab measuring 8.25 x 1.25 m and 2.40 m high. The western wall of the serdab consists of one course of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone, while its eastern wall consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; the extant height is 1.20 m. In the eastern part of the serdab wall are three funnel-shaped openings, measuring 0.73 x 0.45 m and communicating with the pillared hall.<sup>65</sup>

### The ante-chamber (plan. I, E):

At the southern end of the eastern wall a 0.75 m wide doorway opens into the ante-chamber measuring 5.78 x 2.76 m.<sup>66</sup> From the antechamber only one course of the eastern wall of fine white limestone survived while the remainder are stones of the local variety. The floor of the ante-chamber is unpaved. In the south-eastern corner of this wall is embedded a rectangular monolithic basin made of fine white limestone measuring 1.06 x 0.39 m.

#### **The southern wall:**

From the wall survived only two of the lowest courses of local limestone which are painted black.

#### **The eastern wall:**

The wall consists of two bottom courses of local limestone, also painted black, above which is one course of fine white limestone above. The wall was decorated with a slaughtering scene.

#### **The western wall:**

The wall consists of two courses of local limestone at the bottom. The limestone in this wall is in a bad condition. This wall was decorated with the name and titles of the first tomb owner, the scene of a procession of five men facing north, and the scene of the first tomb owner holding a long staff with his son are preserved.

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<sup>65</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 44

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 44-45

### **The northern wall:**

This wall retains one course of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; this wall was decorated with the scene of a procession of five men carrying jars of wine in their hands.

### **The mortuary chapel (Cult chapel) (pl. I, F):**

At the eastern end of the northern wall of the ante-chamber, a doorway 0.73 m wide opens into the mortuary chapel. Both door jambs of this wall retain one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone. The size of this chapel is 7.78 x 2.57 m and its extant height is 4.15 m.<sup>67</sup> The orientation of this room is east-west with a false door occupying the western wall (Reisner's type 7);<sup>68</sup> it first appears in Fifth Dynasty, in the pyramid temples of Sahure, Neferirkare, and Neuserre. Y. Harpur believes that the earliest example of an east-west cult chapel in a multi-roomed, or complex, chapel might be that of Ankhmare at Saqqara; according to her, this tomb dates back to the reign of Menkauhor.<sup>69</sup>

Harpur has analyzed the program of decoration on the walls of the east-west cult chapel with long north and south walls entered from the north or south in the multiple-roomed chapels of the late the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of Sixth Dynasty in very concise terms.<sup>70</sup>

The cult chapel of the tomb of Kagemni<sup>71</sup> was built using the same plan of the cult chapel as the tomb of Nebkauhor.

### **The western jamb:**

The jamb was decorated with the scene of offering bearers and the scene of a gang of men overthrowing a bull.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 46

<sup>68</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 16

<sup>69</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 23

<sup>70</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 16

<sup>71</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 521-525; von Bissing, *Gem- Ni- Kai*, passim

<sup>72</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 52-53

**The eastern jamb:**

This jamb was also decorated with the scene of offering bearers and the scene of a gang of men overthrowing a bull.

**The eastern wall:**

The wall retains two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; it was decorated with a slaughtering scene.<sup>73</sup>

**The western wall:**

The wall was originally occupied with the huge false door, which was made of fine white limestone, but now is badly damaged, nothing more than a few fragments surviving. To the right of the false door is an offering stone, a large rectangular offering bench of fine white limestone, measuring 2.56 m x 0.71m x 0.41 m wide, which rests against the northern wall of this room. The bench is surrounded by a cavetto-and-torus cornice on its southern and eastern sides. Similar benches form a standard part of the service equipment in Reisner's type 7 chapels in a number of important tombs of the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the early Sixth Dynasty at Giza and Saqqara.<sup>74</sup>

**The southern wall:**

The southern wall originally consisted of two courses of local limestone at the bottom and six courses of fine white limestone above it. This wall was decorated with an offering table scene, the scene of a procession of offering bearers and priests, offerings and an offering list; the upper part of this wall was decorated with the *hkr*-frieze typical for later Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>75</sup>

**The northern wall:**

The northern wall originally consisted of two courses of local limestone at the bottom and six courses of fine white limestone above it. This wall was decorated with an offering table scene, the scene of a procession of offering bearers and priests,

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>74</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 19

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 22

offerings, offering list, and the scene of the first tomb owner seated upon a lion-footed chair.<sup>76</sup>

### **The offering table:**

At the end of the western wall of the cult chapel is a large offering table built of fine white limestone. The original length of this table was 2.10 m, but now it is only 1.61 m long, its breadth is 0.60 m, and its height is 0.52 m. On its eastern side is a flight of four steps cut from a single block of fine white limestone; each step is 0.61 m broad and 0.63 m high. Far from it is a rectangular block made out of fine white limestone, measuring 2.10 x 0.70 x 0.50 m; it lies on the other side of the base of the northern wall of the chapel and probably served as a “side-board” on which the offerings stood before being placed upon the offering table. There are many tombs which contain in the chapel offering table like this, for example the tomb of Kagemni.<sup>77</sup> The floor of the chapel is unpaved.<sup>78</sup>

### **The offering room (pl. I G):**

At the eastern end of the northern wall of the cult chapel is a doorway measuring 0.74 m wide and 2.11 m high: it leads to the offering room 4.19 x 1.27 m.

### **The eastern jamb:**

The jamb consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; it was decorated with a scene of gang of men dragging jars of wine on the sledges. We have similar scenes in the tomb of Queen Nebet, which was a tomb very close to that of Nebkauhor.

### **The western jamb:**

The jamb consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; this jamb is also decorated with the scene of a gang of men dragging jars of wine on sledges.

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<sup>76</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 35; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 16; Junker, *Giza. VI*, fig. 31-34

<sup>77</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, 8-12

<sup>78</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 52

**The eastern wall:**

The wall consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; it was decorated with the scene of jars in a chest and a gang of men dragging jars.

**The western wall:**

The wall consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; it was decorated with a scene of jars and chests and a gang of men dragging or carrying jars of wine.

**The northern wall:**

The wall consists of two courses of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone; it was decorated with the scene of jars in a chest and a gang of men dragging or carrying jars and chests.

**The storerooms (pl. I, H):**

The storerooms are situated in the southern end of the western wall of the ante-chamber. They are accessible through a doorway, 0.65 m wide; opening into a passage 9.80 m long, 1.00 m wide, but now is 2.84 m high. The southern wall of the passage retains four courses of local limestone and two large courses of fine white limestone, while its northern wall retains three courses of local limestone, and one large course of fine white limestone; the western wall consists of one course of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone. The floor of the passage is unpaved and the roof is now destroyed. In the northern wall of the passage are four doorways opening into four store rooms.<sup>79</sup>

**Storeroom no.1, (pl. I, 1):**

At the beginning of the passage, a doorway 0.67 m wide and 1.50 m high gives access to the first store room which has an oblong plan and measures 3.63 x 1.54 m; now it is 1.73 m high. The jamb of the doorway consists of three courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone; on the third course from the bottom was a hieratic quarry-mark in red paint which is now unreadable.

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 58

In the left hand jamb is a cylindrical bolt-hole measuring 10 cm. The lintel of the doorway is missing, the southern part of the eastern wall of the store room consists of two courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, while the western wall consists of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. The middle part of the wall is destroyed.<sup>80</sup>

In the upper right end of this course are two small round holes cut in the wall, the first one measuring 6 cm, while the second one measuring 10 cm, and the distance between them is 20 cm. Most probably used for turning circle of a door?

The northern wall retains two courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, while the southern wall consists of three courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. There are no decorations.

#### **Storeroom no.2, (pl. I, 2):**

The second doorway, 0.62m.wide and 1.50m. high, gives access to the second storeroom which measuring 3.90 x 1.56 x 1.70m. high. The jambs of the doorway are built of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. Beside the upper south eastern corner of the left hand jamb a hole is bored diagonally between the jamb and northern wall of the passage; probably rope was run through this hole and attached to this bolt, either for the purpose of sliding it in or out of its socket or for the purpose of sealing it after the door was finally closed.<sup>81</sup> All the lintels and the doors were made of wood and locked from inside with bolt.<sup>82</sup>

The eastern wall of the store room consists of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, while the northern wall retains one course of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone; the southern and western wall

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 59

<sup>82</sup> Vetakov and Kormysheva, *Door to the Tomb of Khafraankh Reconstruction, Times, Signs and Pyramids. Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (V.G. Callender, L. Bareš, M. Bárta, J. Janák, J. Krejčí, eds), Charles University in Prague (2011), unpublished

consist of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. There are no decorations.

**Storeroom no.3, (pl. I, 3):**

The third doorway is 0.65 m wide and 1.52 m high. It gives access to the third store room measuring 3.85 x 1.47m and 1.65 m high; the right jamb of the doorway consists of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone, while the left jamb consists of one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone. Besides the lower southeastern corner of this jamb is a diagonally bored hole similar to that in the second doorway. The northern wall consists of four courses of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. The western wall consists of one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone, while the eastern wall consists of four course of local limestone and one course of fine white limestone. This room was originally roofed with large slabs of fine white limestone of which the northernmost two still remain in situ. Above this room there was originally another one of the same dimensions, which was also used as a store. No decoration exists.

**Storeroom no.4, (pl. I, 4):**

The fourth doorway is 0.65 m wide and 1.50 m high. The right jamb consists of four courses of fine white limestone, while the left one consists of one course of local limestone and three courses of white limestone. A diagonal hole for the bolt is bored in the south western corner of the left jamb. This doorway gives the accesses to a store room measuring 3.90 x 1.52 m, with a height of 1.50 m. The eastern and southern wall consist of one course of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone, while the western wall consists of one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone, and the northern wall retains two courses of local limestone. This room was also roofed with large limestone slabs, two of which, 1.50 m long and 0.38 m thick, remain in situ at its northern end.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 60



### Storeroom no.5 (pl. I, 5):

At the western end of the passage is a doorway, 0.64 m wide and 1.50 high, opening into the fifth store room. The room measures 5.75 x 1.43 m. The jambs of the doorway consist of one course of local limestone and two courses of fine white limestone. A hole for the bolt is bored through the centre of the north eastern corner of the right jamb. The eastern wall of the room consists of one course of local limestone and five courses of fine white limestone, while the western wall consists of five courses of fine white limestone. The southern wall consists of one course of local limestone and three courses of fine white limestone.<sup>84</sup>

### **The substructure:**

#### The descending passage, (pl. II, I):

In the floor of the pillared hall between the eastern wall and the easternmost pillars of the northern wall opens the descending passage. Its entrance is rectangular and measures 2.02 x 1.06 m. The passage is cut in the bed rock and paved with slabs of local limestone and roofed with horizontal slabs of local limestone. From the lower end of the floor of this passage a smaller passage 1.28 x 0.88 m, steeply descends towards the west. After the sarcophagus was safely introduced into the burial chamber, a wall was built between the two openings. The space between them was filled with limestone chips, and the smaller passage was roofed and paved with slabs of local limestone. After the day of burial, this passage was plugged by long, rectangular blocks of fine white limestone. After a distance of 7.50 m., the smaller passage continues to be horizontal for a further 3.15 m, until it reaches the burial chamber. The tomb-robbers broke into the chamber by removing the filling between the great and small passage and destroying part of the walls of the latter near its eastern end.<sup>85</sup>

The descending passage has the same plan as the descending passage of the tomb of Nyankhba. Both of them lie between the eastern wall of the pillared hall and

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<sup>84</sup> The doors which lead to the store rooms were closed with red bricks, because this tomb is used nowadays as a store magazine Number 17

<sup>85</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 56-7

the eastern row of the pillars and both of them are cut in the bed rock<sup>86</sup> and lead to the burial chamber.

### The burial chamber, (pl. II, J):

The descending passage leads to the large burial chamber entirely cut in the bed rock. It is divided into two parts, the eastern part- a vestibule- measuring 8.60 x 3.30 m, while the western part, where the sarcophagus originally stood, measures 3.85 x 2.45 m. The extant height of the burial chamber being 2.95 m, the floor of the burial chamber is unpaved, while the walls covered with a layer of plaster, most of which has scaled off. In the western part is an oblong rock-cut shelf measuring 3.85 x 0.47 m. It is cut in the wall at a distance of 1.52 m from the floor. This shelf served to support one side of the heavy lid of the sarcophagus, which lay open ready to receive the mummy on the day of burial. The sarcophagus of the tomb owner was nowhere to be seen, but eventually Selim Hassan found it smashed into twelve pieces and thrown into a large rectangular pit cut in the floor of the eastern side of the burial chamber.<sup>87</sup> The pit measures 4.40 x 2.80m and is 2.10 m deep. The smashed sarcophagus was found lying on its eastern side with the bottom directed west. It is of white limestone and originally measured 3.15 x 1.45m and was 1.50 m deep. In the upper part of the eastern side, near the northern end, was a large aperture that had been cut by the tomb robbers. On the inner eastern side near the northern end is a horizontal inscription which recorded the name of the new tomb owner with his titles. The burial chamber was reused during the Late Period.<sup>88</sup>

Concerning the limestone sarcophagus, the new tomb owner had not shown any scruples about erasing the name of the first tomb owner, and substituting it with his own. This was on one of the twelve pieces mentioned above.

The plan of the burial chamber is practically the same as the burial chamber of the tomb of Nyankhba but there is a slight difference between them: the walls of the burial chamber of Nyankhba were originally covered with plaster and are decorated

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<sup>86</sup> Idem, *Hemet-Re*, 48

<sup>87</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 56-7

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*

with scenes of offerings of food and drink.<sup>89</sup> Most probably, the walls of the burial chamber of Nebkauhor had also been covered with plaster, but only traces of the latter survived and nothing from the decoration of the walls.

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<sup>89</sup> Hassan, *Hemet-Re*, 45

### **Chapter III: Scenes and inscriptions in the tomb of Nebkauhor**

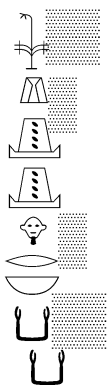
The mastaba of Nebkauhor lies on the northern side of the causeway of Unis, at Saqqara; to its north is Djoser's Step Pyramid enclosure wall. As previously mentioned, Nebkauhor's mastaba is missing its upper levels, but much of the architecture and many of its reliefs still exist. On the outer wall to the south there is a façade which once showed the figure of the tomb owner. As was explained in the Introduction, the original tomb owner was Akhethetep, but the tomb was taken over by Prince Nebkauhor.

#### **The façade:<sup>90</sup>**

##### **The western part:**

The façade as it remains today consists of two registers: the lower register is badly damaged: nothing more remains than a picture of an arm and a hand holding a handkerchief and the remains of the rear part of a striding male, but the original scene depicts the striding figure of the first tomb owner, Akhethotep see [Fig.1 A-B].

The upper register is better preserved: it also shows a striding figure of the first tomb owner,<sup>91</sup> where he appears walking towards the right, his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets and a triangular kilt; In front of him is a vertical inscription. Above his head are the remains of several lines of a horizontal funerary offering formula:



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<sup>90</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 627-9

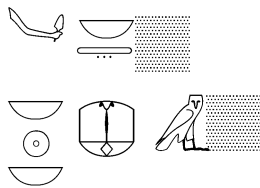
<sup>91</sup> Hassan., *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 6

The text reads:

[imy-r3] šm<sup>c</sup>w hry- [hbt] [imy-r3] šnwtj Nb-k3w-Hr

“[The Overseer] of Upper Egypt,<sup>92</sup> Lector priest, [Overseer] of two granaries, Nebkauhor”

Above him are remains of a horizontal inscription in two registers:



The text reads:

.....nb t3 dsr....m hb nb r<sup>c</sup>-nb

“.....the lord of the sacred land.....in every feast of every day”.

### The eastern part:

This part shows seven images of the first tomb owner: five images are walking to the left and two images are walking to the right. The first image depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets and a triangular kilt. In his hand he holds a long staff. In front of him is a vertical inscription:

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<sup>92</sup> I follow the translation of titles as recorded by Jones, *An Index*





“...sole [companion], [Nebkau]hor”

The fifth image is badly damaged, but the original scene depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets and a triangular kilt, and he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a roll of papyrus in his left hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription:



The text reads:

[z3 nswt n ht.f] smsw [Nb-k3w]-Hr.....

“[King’s] eldest [son of his body] Ne[bkauhor]...”<sup>93</sup>

The sixth image is badly damaged, but the original scene depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg moving forward and facing east. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets and a triangular kilt, and he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a roll of papyrus in his left hand.

The seventh image is also badly damaged, but the original scene depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg walking forward and facing east. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets and a triangular kilt, and holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a roll of papyrus in his left hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription:

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<sup>93</sup>Strudwick, N., ‘Notes on the mastaba of 3ht-htp; Hmi and Nb-k3w-Hr; Tdu at Saqqara’, in: *GM* 56, 1982, 89-94





The text reads:

*ḥ3ty –ꜥ smr [wꜥty Nb-k3w]-Ḥr....*

“The count, Sole [companion, Nebkau]hor”

### **The Court:**

The entrance gives access to a narrow passage 3.18 m, this narrow passage leads directly into the court, where it was originally closed by a double wooden door. The measurements of this court are 5.60 x 2.38 m.

### **The west inner thickness,<sup>94</sup> entrance doorway:**

The lower register is incomplete; but shows the remains of a scene of dragging two life-size<sup>95</sup> standing statues of the tomb owner to the serdab. The head and the

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<sup>94</sup> According to Harpur, *Decoration*, 56-7, there are three subjects that are usually associated with the entrance thicknesses: boats, statue dragging and butchery. They are preserved on thicknesses in Giza, Abusir and Saqqara tombs. The scene of the boats appeared for the first time in Sahure’s valley temple see, Borchardt, *Sahure*, Pl. 9; in the tomb of *Rꜥ-m-k3.j*, see *PM* 450. On the other hand the scene of statue dragging appeared for the first the time according to Harpur in the mid of the Fourth Dynasty, where found only one fragmentary entrance thickness depicted statue dragging, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 57, while Harpur suggested that the scene of butchery depicted next to the scene of the statue dragging in the entrance thickness at Saqqara during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, see Hrpur, *Decoration*, 56

<sup>95</sup> This scene appears three times on the walls of the Old Kingdom tombs, see Harpur, *OEE database*; see also Verner, *Ptahshepses*, 47; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 64-5; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 7; for the complete bibliography see, Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 202-5

body of the statues are almost completely destroyed;<sup>96</sup> the preserved part shows only the remains of four feet belonging to the two standing statues of the tomb owner placed on a sledge. In front of the sledge there are the remains of twelve feet of six men<sup>97</sup> who pulled the sledge. The head and the body of the fifth and the sixth man are badly damaged. Behind the statues of the tomb owner there are the remains of two feet which belong to the figure of the tomb owner's eldest son.

Unfortunately, the scene is badly damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes in other contemporaneous tombs. It shows two statues of the tomb owner with his left leg forward. The tomb owner wears a short tight-fitting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar.<sup>98</sup> He holds a staff in his right hand, while holding a folded cloth in his left hand.<sup>99</sup> The statues are placed on a sledge, pulled by six men of whom only the remains of their feet have survived. The men haul the sledge by ropes attached to the front of the sledge,<sup>100</sup> and the stooped figure behind the haulers pours water (mixed with mud) from a jar onto the ground before the sledge runners in order to make the track slippery. In front of the shrine stands an official

The next group of images shows the burning of incense. All the figures are either directly facing the statues or turning their heads backwards in order to look at the statues.<sup>101</sup> A seventh man behind the sledge supports the statue's shrine with his hand.<sup>102</sup> He might be the eldest son of the tomb owner, who is depicted here as a mature man (not as a boy) taking care of his father's burial.<sup>103</sup> In front of the two

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<sup>96</sup> For the complete scene, see Montet, *Les scènes*, 387-388; Capart, J., and Werbrouck, M., *Memphis*, 336, fig. 319; Duell, P., *Mereruka*, 1-103; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 64-5

<sup>97</sup> The number of feet refers to the men who are pulling these statues: the number is not massive, so if pulled only by six men, it might be suggested that these statues are made of wood not stone.

<sup>98</sup> Harpur, *Kagemni*, 397

<sup>99</sup> Épron and Daumas, *Ti, I*, lxv

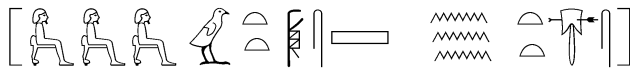
<sup>100</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 48

<sup>101</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iyefert*, 44

<sup>102</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 48

<sup>103</sup> For a parallel to this scene, see e.g. Martin, *Hetepka*, 7-8; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, 47; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 64-5; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 7

statues of the tomb owner is a horizontal inscription reading from right to left in accordance with the direction of the statues and the haulers we have:

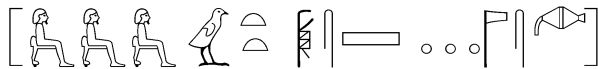


The text reads:

*stīṯ mw šms twtw .*

“Pouring water [and] escorting the statues”<sup>104</sup>

There is a horizontal inscription and reads from right to left:



The text reads:

*k3p snṯr šms twtw.*

“Burning incense [and] escorting the statues”

The upper register is incomplete and perhaps shows two seated statues of the tomb owner,<sup>105</sup> painted yellow,<sup>106</sup> in a shrine. They are placed, one behind the other, on a sledge and are pulled by four men - only part of this relief survives. The first man wears a shoulder-length wig. Both his feet are lost. In front of the shrine stands an official who burns incense. Part of his body is lost. All the figures either face the statues or turn their heads backwards, as before. Both statues represent the deceased tomb owner. The front statue depicts him wearing a long wig,<sup>107</sup> a short false beard, and a broad collar. He holds the official’s ‘scepter’ in his left hand,<sup>108</sup> but his right hand is resting on his knee. The second statue depicts him wearing a short wig, a short

<sup>104</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 64-5.

<sup>105</sup> See the complete scene in Dunham and Simpson, *Queen Mersyankh III*, 12; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 64-5; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 7

<sup>106</sup> According to G. Robins, the yellow color represents the gold, which reflects the fact that this statue was made of gold. For a description of the divine cult statue, where the gold represents the flesh of the gods, see Robins, ‘Color symbolism’, in D. Redford, ed., *The Ancient gods speak a guide to Egyptian religion*, 59-60

<sup>107</sup> Verner, *Ptahshepses*, 47

<sup>108</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 7



“[Escorting of the statues]<sup>112</sup> of the sole companion<sup>113</sup> and administrator of [the royal domain, star of Horus –foremost –of –heaven, pupil of Horus who presides over heaven],<sup>114</sup> [favourite of his lord]”.<sup>115</sup>

At first, scholars thought that, in the Old Kingdom, the statue represented the tomb owner. Therefore, when incense and offerings were presented to the statue, this was because the ancient people believed that the statue could smell the incense and take in the spirit of the food and drink offerings.<sup>116</sup> Edel, however, thinks that the statue represents the *ka* of the deceased, and he felt that it was placed within the tomb so that, if the tomb owner’s body was destroyed, the *ba* and *ka* of the person would have a physical ”home” to rest in.”<sup>117</sup>

One may, however, suggest that the statue in the tombs represents the deceased himself, because the ancient Egyptians believed in the double (*k3*), the name (*rn*), the soul (*b3*), the body (*ht*), and the shadow (*šwyt*). All these identities of the body and the spirit are linked together and reach the person in the afterlife. This is why private statuary for the deceased in ancient Egypt was so important. According to Harpur,<sup>118</sup> the scene of dragging two life-size standing statues appears two times at Saqqara and Abusir at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth (Table.1, Fig.2 A-B). While the scene of dragging two seated statues appears four times during the Fifth Dynasty, but only one time during the Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara. It is interesting that this scene also decorated the west inner thickness entrance doorway of the tomb of Akhetotep /Nebkauhor. (Table. 2, Fig.3-A-B-C). So, this is really quite a rare scene among Old Kingdom tombs.

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<sup>112</sup> *šsp r ʿnh* is paralleled in the meaning with *twt r ʿnh* or *twt ʿnh* wherein Junker, *Giza, XI* , 225) suggested that *šsp ʿnh* had already the meaning ”statue” or “life –size statue.” during the Old Kingdom, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 40, on the other hand, says that the meaning of *twt ʿnh* during the New Kingdom is “ the living image.” or“ life –size statue.” or “perfected likeness”, Eaton, Krauss, M., *The representation of statuary*, 78-88; Davies, See also N. Davies, (*Ken-Amūn*, 25)

<sup>113</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 892 [3268]

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, 358 [1331]

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 44 [231]

<sup>116</sup> Garstang *The burial customs*, 31-33

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>118</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

### **The northern wall, The Court:**

The remains of this relief possibly show a spear-fishing scene.<sup>119</sup> Unfortunately, it is badly damaged: and we can see nothing more than different kinds of fish and water animals. But the original scene must have shown<sup>120</sup> the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his legs spread wide apart and with his right heel raised, he is in a papyrus dinghy and facing right.<sup>121</sup> The tomb owner wears a linen (?) headdress and sporting kilt tied at the middle with a belt. He also wears a broad collar and a long wig.<sup>122</sup> He is holding in his left hand<sup>123</sup> a wooden spear<sup>124</sup> displaying the fact that he has caught two big fish,<sup>125</sup> *a tilapia* and *a lates niloticus*,<sup>126</sup> both of which are shown next to the “mountain of water” which reaches to the tomb owner’s shoulder. According to Philippe Germond the main purpose of the scene of spearing fish, is perhaps as a wish for regeneration, while the representation of mountain of water also refers to solar rebirth, a solarized version of the Osiris legend.<sup>127</sup> Concerning the remainder of this scene, we need only mention the background of papyrus stems behind the spear fishing scene and not behind the tomb owner. The fishing of *a tilapia* and *a lates niloticus* required the fisherman to be highly skilled at this sort of hunting. The tomb owner depicts this scene on the wall of his tomb, not only to point out his participation in a sport, but perhaps to indicate a ritual.

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<sup>119</sup> The spear-fishing scene appeared in Saqqara tombs for the first time when it decorated the eastern wall of the tomb of Nefererirtenef, see van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 65-9; Montet, *Les scènes*, 20; for the complete bibliography see, Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 130-155

<sup>120</sup> The spear-fishing scene can be reconstructed on the basis of parallels with the complete example, Smith, *The judge goes fishing*, 59; Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 38-9; Junker, *Giza. XII*, 27-35

<sup>121</sup> Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 111

<sup>122</sup> Usually, the tomb owner is depicted in a spear-fishing scene wearing a long wig during the Fifth Dynasty - such as in the tomb of Nefererirtenef, see Van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef*, 65-9, pls 1; but, in the Sixth Dynasty, he is depicted wearing a curled wig, such as in the tomb of Seankhuptah, see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Neferseshemre and Seankhuptah*, 59-62

<sup>123</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 2-3

<sup>124</sup> Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, 21

<sup>125</sup> Blackman, *The rock tombs of Meir*, 28

<sup>126</sup> Gamer – Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, 129, pl.5, 6

<sup>127</sup> Germond, *BSÉG* 26, 2004, 27-41

The tomb owner is often accompanied in this journey with his family, and sometimes with friends and retainers.<sup>128</sup> In this case, his wife is depicted in a seated pose in a smaller scale behind her husband, who is depicted in gigantic size. This is because the tomb owner must be shown to be the most important person in his own tomb. In this scene his wife is represented clinging to his leg with her left hand and holding a lotus flower<sup>129</sup> in the right hand. She wears a long tight dress with shoulder straps, a collar and a long wig. In front of her was a vertical inscription giving her name and her titles.<sup>130</sup> His son, who is shown in a smaller scale behind his father, and he is represented in a striding pose. He is also holds a fish in his right hand and wooden spear in the left hand. He wears a short kilt, a short wig and a broad collar, and in front of him is a vertical inscription, which gives his name and his titles.

The “mountain of water” and the water below the papyrus boat are crowded with different kinds of fish and different kinds of water animals. Some fish jump out of the water and a hippopotamus fights a crocodile<sup>131</sup> and bites him. Next to this scene are different kinds of fish, such as *Mugil*, (*in* modern Egyptian for this is either *Bourie*, *Tobar* or *Garan*), *Schilbe*, (modern is *Schibla*), *Citharinus* (*in* modern Egyptian, the word today is *Amara*), *Labeo* (modern is *Lebis*), *Lates- niloticus*, (modern is *Isher Bayad*), *Tilapia*, (modern is *Bolti*) *Synodontis*, (modern is *Gargoor*, *Schall*), *Gnathonemus* (modern is *Anooma*, *Om-Shifefa*), *Heterobranchus* (modern is *Armoot*, *Garmoot*, *Hoot*), and *Hyperopisus* (modern is *Sawiya*, *Galmier*). The dado

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<sup>128</sup> Susanne, *Egyptian art*, 113

<sup>129</sup> The lotus flower is a symbol of the sun and rebirth, because in the evening it closed its blossom but in the morning the sun's rays drew it to the surface and when it opened, the petals and perfume radiated from the flower's heart like shafts of sunlight, (Bojana, *Osiris death and afterlife*, 3); (Sethe, *PT*, Band 1,144); Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 179-180. According to Harpur, this scene appeared for the first time in the Fourth Dynasty. It decorated the offering room of the tomb of Queen Mersyankh, (Harpur, *Decoration*, 135), but the queen in this scene is shown holding two lotus flowers.

<sup>130</sup> Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 65-9

<sup>131</sup> According to Harpur, (Harpur, *Kagemni*,420), this scene appeared in many hundreds of marsh scenes that date back to the Old Kingdom, but these scenes are only depicted in tomb publications eleven times, the earliest example is the tomb of Ti, see Épron, and Daumas, *Ti II*, cxix. The earliest example of this scene is found in the tomb of Neferirtenef, see Van de Wall, *Neferirtenef*, 65-9

beneath this riverine scene is decorated with band of red and yellow separated by narrow black stripes.<sup>132</sup>

The spear fishing scene was developed for the first time in the royal complex of the King Sahure.<sup>133</sup> In the scene from Sahure's mortuary temple,<sup>134</sup> King Sahure is depicted in his complex spearing fish, hunting birds with a throw-stick and hunting a hippopotamus. This scene probably appeared for the first time in private tombs at Saqqara when it decorated the eastern wall of the tomb of Neferirtenef, which dates to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>135</sup>

The spearing fish scenes depicted in the Old Kingdom tombs were not meant only to represent the activities of daily life. These activities were also carried out expressly for the benefit of the tomb owners in the Afterlife. Fish were part of the funerary meals, so the fish were often dedicated for spiritual food in the tombs scenes in the Old Kingdom.<sup>136</sup>

These scenes take place in the marshes, and the Delta marshes were very important in ancient Egyptian religion. When Seth dismembered the body of his brother Osiris into fourteen parts, Isis and Nephthys went searching for all the pieces. Isis found all of them except the male member, which was eaten by the *lates* fish. Having swallowed a part of the god Osiris, therefore; this type of fish was honoured by the ancient Egyptians and, later, worshipped as a form of Neith in the town of *Lepidotus* – today's city of "Esna". Isis assembled the parts of her husband with love then brought him back to life. Later on, she gave birth to Osiris' son, Horus. Isis hid her son in the Delta marshes in the north to protect him from the evil eye of Seth. When he grew up Horus challenged Seth to a mortal battle, but eventually the Kingship of Egypt accrued to Horus.<sup>137</sup> Therefore; the tomb owners in the Old Kingdom may have placed this scene in their tombs to refer to the god Horus. Most

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<sup>132</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 8

<sup>133</sup> El Awady, *Sahure the Pyramid Causeways*, 63

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*; Borchardt, *Sahure II*, Pl. 15

<sup>135</sup> Van de Wall, *Neferirtenef*, 65-9

<sup>136</sup> Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, 12-15

<sup>137</sup> Bojana, *Osiris death and Afterlife*, 3



probably this scene had a special reference for the nobility, who practised this sport during times of leisure.<sup>138</sup> On such days, the tomb owner was accompanied by his family, attendants, foods and the equipment for games<sup>139</sup> even as such activities happen in our own lives nowadays.<sup>140</sup>

The spear-fishing scene appears for the first time in Saqqara tombs - and the eastern wall of the tomb of Neferirtenef has already been mentioned.<sup>141</sup> This scene was found seven times during the Fifth Dynasty, sixteen times during the Sixth Dynasty and three times during the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty see, [Table.3, Fig.4- A-B-C-D-E-F].

### **The southern wall, The Court:**

Unfortunately, nothing more than two, very finely executed, *lates niloticus* fish<sup>142</sup> facing each other and the remains of two feet survive. While the original scene must have shown a dragnet<sup>143</sup> or seine-netting scene,<sup>144</sup> where ten fishermen,<sup>145</sup> divided into two groups of five are pulling a net ashore, under the supervision of an overseer who instructs them, by means of his right hand.

This scene was found at Saqqara fifteen times during the Fifth Dynasty, fourteen times during the Sixth Dynasty. [Table.4, Fig.5- A-B]

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<sup>138</sup> Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, 30

<sup>139</sup> The tomb owner in the Sixth Dynasty is usually accompanied on this journey with his catch, but the tomb owner was not depicted before with his catch during the Fifth Dynasty.

<sup>140</sup> During the reign of Mohamed Ali's family in Egypt the princes and higher classes were still practicing this sport in El-Fayoum oasis and Delta marshes.

<sup>141</sup> Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 65-9

<sup>142</sup> Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, 59

<sup>143</sup> Seine-netting scene probably appeared for the first time in Saqqara tombs, in the tomb of Kaaper, see, (Bárta, *South Abusir*, 162-3), but the fishing scene appeared for the first time in the Old Kingdom in Maidum in the tomb of Rahotep (Harpur, *Decoration*, 145), and in Giza cemetery in the tomb of Kawab, (Simpson, *Kawab*, 4)

<sup>144</sup> Montet, *Les scènes*, 32.

<sup>145</sup> In Sahure's complex, this scene shows seventeen fishermen standing ashore, see El Awady, *Sahure the Pyramid Causeways*, 229

### The eastern wall, The Court:

The scenes on this wall show the remains of two registers. The bottom register depicts three offering bearers, all of them carrying different kinds of offerings. They each wear a short wig with kilt and tunics fastened at the waist with a belt.<sup>146</sup> All skins are painted reddish-brown. The men face left and walk towards the pillared hall, to present offerings<sup>147</sup> to the statue of the tomb owner inside the serdab. The first man depicted carries different kinds of food such as long conical bread and some vegetables (?). He holds a haunch of beef and a vessel in one hand with three papyrus stalks in the other hand. The second man also carries different kinds of food such as three conical bread loaves, a large joint of meat, and a vessel in one hand and a live goose<sup>148</sup> in the other hand. The third man brings three pumpkins (*šspt* Armenian pumpkins),<sup>149</sup> and from the crook of his right arm hangs a bundle of flax tied together<sup>150</sup> (or is it a bundle of onions?). He is holding a live goose in the other hand.

In the upper register there is the *h3wt* offering table<sup>151</sup> on which are depicted some conical bread loaves. Placed under the right side of the table is the head of an ox. On the left side of the table is a covered pot. On the left side of the offering table

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<sup>146</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 19

<sup>147</sup> It is similar to what is happening nowadays in the modern life in the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt. When a person dies, all his neighbours are expected to bring his family different kinds of food to help and console them. The food consists of meat, birds, fishes, vegetables, bread and different kinds of fruit. This custom is similar to bringing the deceased offerings in ancient Egypt as we can see on the walls of the tombs. Today, also, the family of the deceased person goes to visit the cemetery during the feasts, and on other religious occasions in memory of the deceased. We can see the women of the family of the deceased carrying the baskets which are piled with some foods, some fruit, and some bread and some cakes, where they distribute these things to people, who recite the holy Bible or the holy Quran for the soul of the deceased. This ritual is known nowadays as “mercy” or “*el-rahma*” in modern Egyptian. Thus, the texts which are recorded on the northern wall of the pillared hall *t3 w<sup>c</sup>b n pr Pth*. “It is pure bread of the house (temple) of Ptah”; *iw n Nb-k3w-Hr im3hw*: “It is for the honored Nebkauhor” make a statement in the past for actions still being carried out today by modern Egyptians.

<sup>148</sup> Houlihan, *The Birds*, 57

<sup>149</sup> Which is called “aggur” in modern Egyptian see (Lise Manniche, *An ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 95-6), or “*el-attach*”. Its botanic name is “*Cucumis melo var. Flexuosus*.”

<sup>150</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 16

<sup>151</sup> See for example Mostafa, *Opfertafeln*, 38- 65

is a stand: upon it is placed a large pottery vase containing a lotus-flower, while on both sides of the vase there are loaves of bread?<sup>152</sup> Between them is a tall vessel on a stand painted reddish-brown [see Fig.6]. According to R. Leprohon<sup>153</sup> the offering in Early Dynastic times given to the tomb owner mostly consisted of vessels, incense, oil, cosmetics, fruit, bread, birds and meat.

According to M. Mostafa<sup>154</sup> offerings for the tomb owner may be divided into two types:

- 1- The material equipment that was placed in the burial chamber of the tomb owner.
- 2- The food was placed outside the tomb during the Archaic Period, in front of the special offering niche; during the Old Kingdom the offerings were left in the chapel.

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<sup>152</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 18

<sup>153</sup> Englund 'Offerings', in D. Redford, ed., *OEAE*, 567-8

<sup>154</sup> Mostafa, *Opfertafeln*, 10-11

**Table 1: The scene of dragging two life-size standing statues of the tomb owner:**

<b>The tomb owner</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>The room / wall</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Main reference</b>
<b>Ptahshepses</b>	Vizier	IV /W	Abusir	V	Verner, M., <i>Abusir-I, The Mastaba of Ptahshepses</i> , (Prague 1977).
<b>Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep</b>	Manicurist of the Great House	I/W	Saqqara	V	Moussa, A., and Altenmüller, H., <i>Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep . Old Kingdom tombs at the causeway of King Unis at Saqqara</i> , (Mainz am Rhein 1977).
<b>Akhethotep/Nebkauhor</b>	King eldest son of his body	I-II/W	Saqqara	V/V1	Hassan, S., <i>The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her</i> , ed. Iskander, Z. (Cairo 1975).

**Table2: The scene of dragging two seated statues of the tomb owner:**

<b>The tomb owner</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>The room /wall</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Main reference</b>
<b>Hetepherakhti</b>	Prophet of the sun –temple of Neuserre	S [entrance thickness-s]	Saqqara	V	Moher, H, T. <i>The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti, study on an Egyptian tomb chapel</i> , (Leiden 1943).
<b>Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep</b>	Manicurist of the great house	I-II/W [thickness]	Saqqara	V	Moussa. A. and Altenmüller, H., <i>Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep . Old Kingdom tombs at the Causeway of King Unis at Saqqara</i> , (Mainz am Rhein 1977).
<b>Rashepses</b>	Chief justice and vizier	II-IV/S [thickness];I I-IV/N [thickness]	Saqqara	V	Lepsius, R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: zweite Abtheilung . Denkmäler des Alten Reiches. Band III,Blatt I-lxxxi;Band IV,Blatt lxxxii-cliii.</i>
<b>Ty</b>	Overseer of the sun temple of Sahure	IV/E	Saqqara	V	Éperon, L., and Daumas, F., <i>le Tombeau de Ti</i> , (Cairo 1939).
<b>Akhethotep/Ne-bkauhor</b>	King eldest son of his body	I/W [Entrance thickness]	Saqqara	V/V1	Hassan, S., <i>The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her</i> , ed.Iskander, Z.(Cairo 1975).
<b>Sabu:Ibebi</b>	Prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare,	N	Saqqara	V1	Borchardt, L., <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.</i>

	Neuserre and Menkauhor.				
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**Table 3: The spear-fishing scene:**

<b>The tomb owner</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>The wall</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Main reference</b>
<b>Neferirtenef</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare	E	Saqqara	V	Van de Walle, B., <i>La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef</i> , (Bruxelles 1978).
<b>Rashepses</b>	Chief justice and vizier	W	Saqqara	V	Lepsius, R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien .zweite Abtheilung. Denkmäler des alten Reiches. Band III,Blatt I-lxxxix;Band IV,Blatt lxxxii-cliii.</i>
<b>Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep</b>	Manicurist of the great house	S/W	Saqqara	V	Moussa, A., and Altenmüller, H., <i>Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep . Old Kingdom tombs at the causeway of King Unis at Saqqara</i> , (Mainz am Rhein 1977).
<b>Kaemnefert</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare	N	Saqqara	V	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), pp.242-9.
<b>Irenkaptah</b>	Master Butcher of the Great House	S	Saqqara	V	Moussa. A., and Junge, F., <i>Two tombs of craftsmen</i> . (Mainz am Rhein 1971).
<b>Neferseshemptah</b>	Overseer of metal-workers	E	Saqqara	V	Moussa, A., and Junge, F., <i>Two tombs of Craftsmen</i> (Mainz am Rhein 1971).

<b>Hetepherakhti</b>	Prophet of the sun –temple of Neuserre	N	Saqqara	V	Moher, T., <i>The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti, Study on an Egyptian Tomb Chapel</i> (Leiden 1943).
<b>Akhethotep/Nebkauhor</b>	King eldest son of his body	N/W	Saqqara	V/VI	Hassan, S., <i>The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her</i> , ed. Iskander, Z. (Cairo 1975).
<b>Merutetisonb</b>	Supervisor of prophets of the meret-temple of Teti	E	Saqqara	VI	Drioton, E., in <i>ASAE</i> 43, (Cairo 1943).

(Continued), Table3: The spear-fishing scene:

<b>Kagemni</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	N	Saqqara	VI	von Bissing, F.W., <i>Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai</i> , (Berlin 1905-11).
<b>Mereruka</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	N/S	Saqqara	VI	Duell, <i>The mastaba of Mereruka</i> , (Chicago 1938).
<b>Duahab</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Neferirkare, Neuserre	S	Saqqara	VI	Mariette <i>Les Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), pp.335-9.
<b>Pepyzedi</b>	Overseer of scribes		Saqqara	VI	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), 401-2
<b>Iynefert</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	N	Saqqara	VI	Saad, in <i>ASAE</i> XI, (Cairo 1940), 686-7; Abder-Razek, M., <i>Kanawati, N., The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara II</i> , (Sydney 2003).
<b>Seshemnufer</b>	Master Butcher of the great	S	Saqqara	VI	Barsanti, in <i>ASAE</i> I, (Cairo 1900), 150-160.

	house				
<b>Mehu</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	E/W	Saqqara	VI	Saad, <i>in ASAE xi</i> , (Cairo 1940), 686-7.
<b>Akhetihotep</b>	Prophet of the pyramids of Iseki and Unis	W	Saqqara	VI	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), pp.421-30
<b>Herimeru</b>	Prophet and tenant of the pyramid of Unis	E	Saqqara	VI	Hassan, <i>Mastabas of Princess Hemet –Re and others</i> , (Cairo 1975)
<b>Hesi</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	S	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, N., and Abder- Raziq, M., <i>The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V. The Tomb of Hesi</i> , (Sydney 1999).
<b>Seankhuiptah</b>	Supervisor of priests of the mrt –temple of Teti	E	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, N., and Abder- Raziq, M., <i>The Teti cemetery at Saqqara. Vol. 3, the tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah</i> , (Warminster 1998).
<b>Ihy</b>	Support of Knmut	N	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, N., and Abder- Raziq, M., <i>Unis Cemetery at Saqqara II</i> .
<b>Mereri</b>	Count and overseer of the department of tenants of the Great House	S	Saqqara	VI	Saad, <i>in ASAE xliii</i> (Cairo 1943), 454.
<b>Merifnbf</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	E	Saqqara	VI	Mesliwicz, K., <i>Op. Cit, Fig. 1 on P. 283</i>
<b>Inumin</b>	Chief Justice and Vizier	W	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, N., <i>The Teti cemetery at Saqqara, the tomb of Inumin</i> , (Sydney 2006).



(Continued), Table 3: The spear-fishing scene:

<b>Kednas</b>	Judge and Inspector of book-keeper, prophet of the pyramid of Menkauhor		Saqqara	V/VI	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), pp.402-4.
<b>Kaire</b>	vizier		Saqqara	V/VI	Lauer, in <i>ASAE</i> xxxvii; Daoud, A. K., The mastaba of Kairer <i>Preliminary Report on the Fieldwork Season</i> (1995-1998).

Table 4: The seine-netting scene:

<b>The tomb owner</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>The wall/room</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Main reference</b>
<b>Kaaper</b>	Judge	E	North Saqqara	V	Bárta, M., <i>The Cemeteries at Abusir South I</i> , (Prague 2001) 143-190.
<b>Kaemnefert</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare	E	Saqqara	V	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889), pp.242-9.
<b>Ty</b>	Overseer of the sun temple of Sahure	N	Saqqara	V	Épron, L., and Daumas, F., <i>Le Tombeau de Ti</i> , (Cairo 1939).
<b>Sopduhotep</b>	Judge and Overseer of	N	Saqqara	V	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889),

	scribes				pp.209-12.
<b>Nikauhor</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf	E	Saqqara	V	Quibell and James, <i>The excavation at Saqqara</i> , (1907-8), (Cairo 1909).
<b>Neferirtenef</b>	prophet Ra in the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare	E	Saqqara	V	Van de Walle, B., <i>La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef</i> , (Brussel 1978).
<b>Hetepherakh -ti</b>	Prophet of the sun –temple of Neuserre	N	Saqqara	V	Moher, H, T. <i>The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti, study on an Egyptian tomb chapel</i> (Leiden 1943).
<b>Nufer</b>	Director of singers	E	Saqqara	V	Moussa. A. and Altenmüller, H. <i>The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1971).
<b>Irenkaptah</b>	Master Butcher of the great house	S	Saqqara	V	Moussa, A., and Junge, F., <i>Two Tombs of Craftsmen</i> , (Mainz am Rhein 1971)
<b>Werirniptah</b>	prophet Ra and Hathor in the sun temple of Neferirkare	N	Saqqara	V	Hall and Lambert, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts VI</i> (1922), p. 6, pl. xii [lower]; T. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts I</i> [2] (1961), p. 29 (now destroyed).

(Continued), Table 4: Seine-netting scene:

<b>Khenut</b>	King's wife	E	Saqqara	V	Munro, P., <i>Der Unas-Friedhof Nord West</i> . (Mainz am Rhein 1993).
<b>Nianchchnm and Chnumhotep</b>	Manicurist of the great house	S	Saqqara	V	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep . Old Kingdom Tombs at the causeway of King Unis</i> , (Mainz am Rhein 1977).

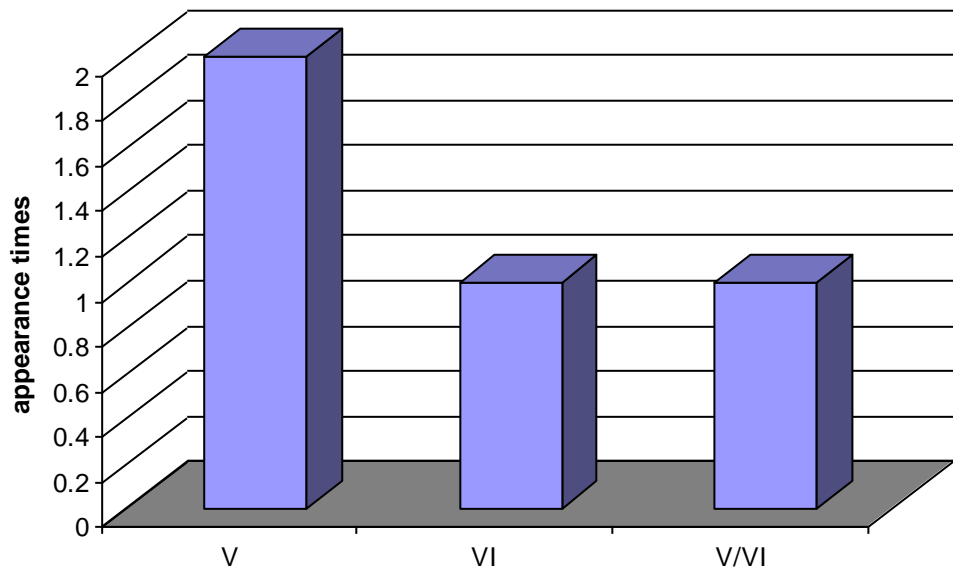
<b>Irukaptah</b>	Master Butcher of the great house	E	Saqqara	V	De Rachewitz, B., <i>The Rock tomb of Irw-Ka-Pth</i> : (Leiden 1960).
<b>Akhethotep (Louvere)</b>	Priest of Chnum	E	Saqqara	V/VI	Ziegler, C., <i>Le mastaba d'Akhetetep</i> , (Paris 1993).
<b>Kaemheset</b>	Overseer of ( <i>mdh</i> ) sculptors in the two houses	E	Saqqara	V/VI	Quibell, J. E., and Hayter, A. G., <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> , (Cairo 1927).
<b>Ptahhotep</b>	Judge and Scribes of the Great House	S	Saqqara	V/VI	Hassan, S., <i>The Excavations at Saqqara</i> , vol. 2 (Cairo, 1938-1939).
<b>Akhethotep/ Nebkauhor</b>	King eldest son of his body	S	Saqqara	V/VI	Hassan, S., <i>The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her</i> , ed. Iskander, Z. (Cairo 1975)
<b>Hetepka</b>	Inspector of hairdressers of the Great House	W	Saqqara	V/VI	Martin, G.T.M., <i>The Tomb of Hetepka</i> , (London 1979).
<b>Kaemrehu</b>	Secretary of the toilet-house.	N	Saqqara	V	Mogesen, M., <i>Le mastaba égyptien de la glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg</i> , (Copenhagen 1921).
<b>Pehenuika</b>	Chief justice and vizier	W	Saqqara	V	K. R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> 12 vols, (Berlin 1849–1858).
<b>Sesheshet: Idut</b>	Support of Knmwt	N	Saqqara	V/VI	Macramallah, R., <i>Le mastaba d' Idut</i> , (Cairo 1935).
<b>Kagemni</b>	Chief justice and vizier	E	Saqqara	VI	von Bissing, <i>Die mastaba des Gem-ni-kai</i> , vol. II, (Leipzig 1911).
<b>Mereruka</b>	Chief justice and vizier	E/ W	Saqqara	VI	Duell, P., <i>The Mastaba of Mereruka, part 1</i> , (Chicago, 1938).
<b>Hesi</b>	Chief justice	E	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, and Abder- Raziq, <i>The</i>

	and vizier				<i>Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V. The Tomb of Hesi</i> , (Sydney 1999).
<b>Nikauisesi</b>	Overseer of the two workshops	S	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara VI. The Tomb of Nikauisesi</i> , (Warminster 2000).

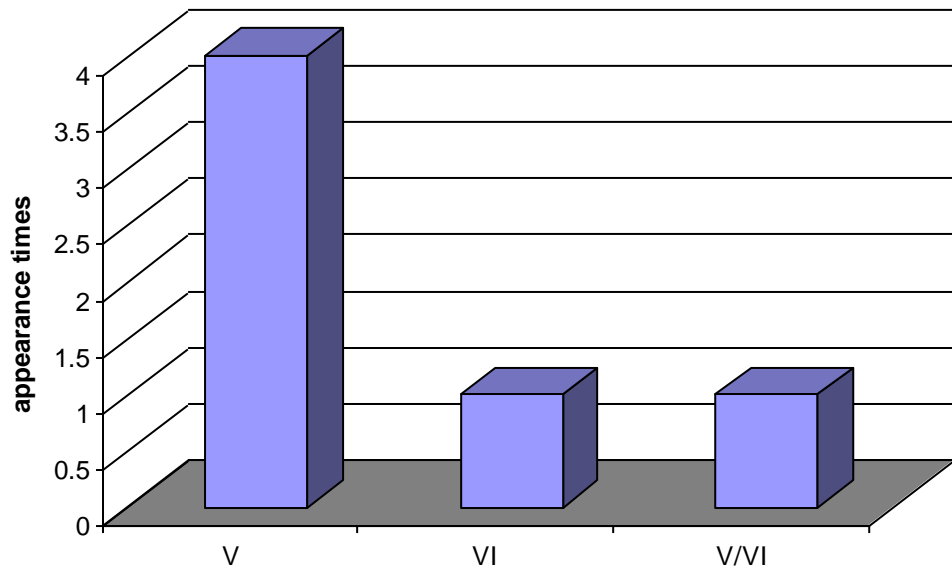
(Continued), **Table 4: Seine-netting scene:**

<b>Meru</b>	Supervisor of prophets of the meret- temple of Teti	S	Saqqara	VI	Lloyd, A, B., Spencer, A, J., and El-khouli, A., <i>Saqqâra tombs, Vol.II, the Mastaba of Meru</i> (London 1990).
<b>Watet -khet – hor</b>	King's Daughter his body	W	Saqqara	VI	Wreszinski ,W., <i>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> ,(Leipzig,1923-35; repr. (Geneva 1988).
<b>Niankhnesut</b>	Count	Block	Saqqara	VI	John P. O'Neill, <i>Egyptian art in the age of the pyramids</i> (New York 1999).
<b>Merefnebef</b>	Chief justice and vizier	E	Saqqara	VI	Mysliwiec, K., <i>Saqqara I. The tomb of Merefnebef-Polish-Egyptian Archaeological mission</i> , (Warsaw 2004).
<b>Mehu</b>	Chief justice and vizier	N	Saqqara	VI	Altenmüller, H., <i>Die Wanddarstellungen im Grabs des Mehu in Saqqara</i> ,(Mainz am Rhien, 1998).
<b>Herimeru</b>	Prophet and tenant of the pyramid of Unis	E	Saqqara	VI	Hassan, <i>Mastabas of Princess Hemet –Re and other</i> , ( Cairo 1975)
<b>Kairer</b>	Vizier	N	Saqqara	VI	Lauer, J, P., <i>The royal cemetery of Memphis Excavations and discoveries since 1850</i> , (London

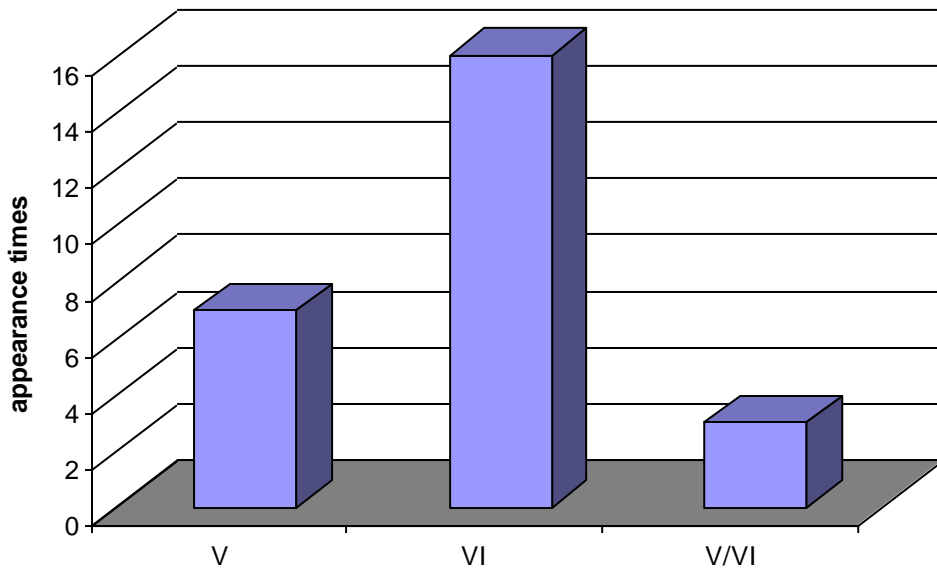
					and New York 1976) ; Daoud, A. K., <i>The Mastaba of Kairer Preliminary Report on the Field work Season 1995-1998.</i>
<b>Iyefert</b>	Chief justice and vizier	E/N	Saqqara	VI	Saad, in <i>ASAE xl</i> ,(1940) 686-693; Abder-Razek, M. & Kanawati, N., <i>The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara ,VII</i> ,(Sydney 2003)
<b>Kednas</b>	Judge and Inspector of book-keeper, prophet of the pyramid of Menkauhor		Saqqara	VI	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i> , (Paris 1889),,pp.402-4
<b>Inumin</b>	Chief justice and vizier	E	Saqqara	VI	Kanawati, N., <i>The Teti cemetery at Saqqara, the tomb of Inumin</i> , (Sydney 2006).



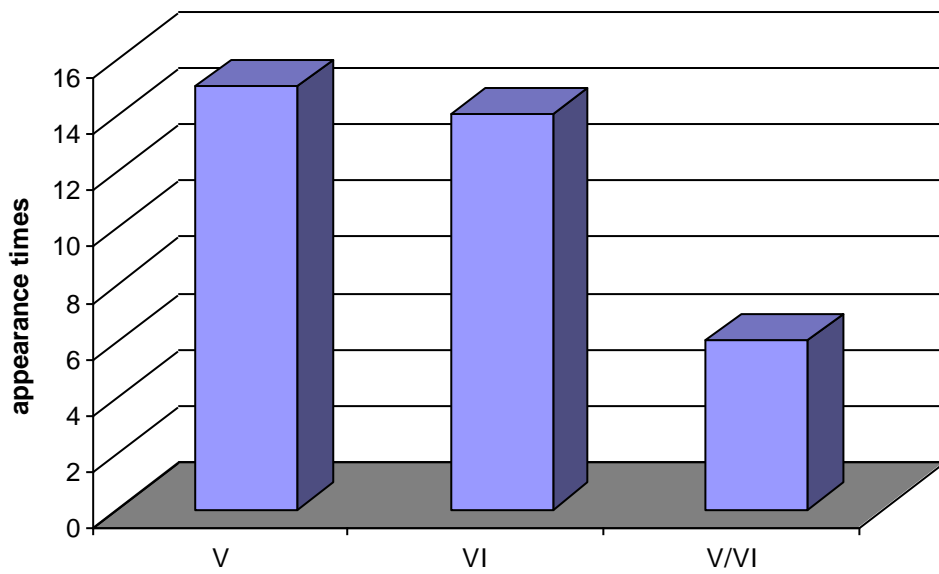
**Fig.2-A: The scene of dragging two life-size standing statues.**



**Fig.3-C: The scene of dragging two seated statues.**



**Fig.4-B: The scene of spear-fishing.**



**Fig.5-B: The scene of seine-netting scene.**





(2) *imy -[iz] Nhn z3w Nhn smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*

“Councillor of Nekhen Protector of Hierakonpolis, The sole companion “

(3) [*t3yty z3b*] *t3ty imy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>(w) nswt*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and vizier, Overseer of the scribes of king’s documents”

According to N. Strudwick the first certain occurrence of the title of *t3yty z3b t3ty* in Egyptian history may antedate the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, where it was found written on stone vessels in the galleries beneath that monument, and was held by a man named *Mn-k3*.<sup>156</sup>

Another significant title of this tomb owner is *imy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>(w) (nw) nswt*; it is considered the most important title in the scribal administration of the Old Kingdom, where there is only one non-vizier with this title in the Sixth Dynasty, although thirteen non-viziers holding this title are known for the Fifth Dynasty, together with fifteen or sixteen viziers.

(4) [*hry-ḥbt*] *hry-tp zš md3t ntr hry-ššt3*

“Chief lector priest, Scribe of the God’s book, One who is privy to the secret”

The title of “one who is privy to the secret” was investigated by Rydström.<sup>157</sup> This title appeared for the first time in the Early Dynastic Period. Until the end of the Third Dynasty, its holders were mainly occupied in funerary and temple cults but, during the Fourth Dynasty, the use of this title extended into all spheres of Egyptian society. Administrative officers holding the title were employed either in the scribal sphere (the *nswt*) or, as in the case of the tomb owner, in official administration posts

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<sup>156</sup>Strudwick, N., *The Administration*, 300

<sup>157</sup> For the complete study see Rydström, “*hry-ššt3*’ In Charge of secrets’. The 3000-year Evolution of a Title” in: *DE* 28, 53-94

(within the *hwt wrt*). In connection with official administration, the title relates to the character of duties rather than to a function.<sup>158</sup>

(5)[*smr*] *w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*

“The sole companion, Privy to the secret of the house of morning”<sup>159</sup>

(6) [*smr*] *w<sup>c</sup>ty iri nfr h3.t imy-ib [n nb.f]*

“The sole companion, Keeper of the headdress, *nfr h3.t* Favourite of his lord”

(7) *imy-r3 swt špswt [Pr-<sup>c</sup>3] m [rr] nb.f.*

“Steward of the August places of the great House, Beloved of his lord”

(8) *im3hw hr ntr <sup>c</sup>3 z3 nswt Nb-k3w-Hr.*

“Revered with the Great God, King’s son, Nebkauhor”

The title of *z3 nswt*<sup>160</sup> appeared for the first time in the Second Dynasty and was usually used in the subsequent periods. While in the Third Dynasty this title appeared four times<sup>161</sup> during the reign of Djoser.<sup>162</sup> “In the Old Kingdom, probably the title of *z3 nswt* lost its meaning during the late Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty especially, and extended from the constituency of the royal family onto a group of high officials, the nature of which is not easy to tell from available sources the end of the Fifth Dynasty. One distinguishes between two groups of royal sons – *real sons* and *fictive sons*”.<sup>163</sup> This title from Djedkare and Unis reflects their work in the state

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<sup>158</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 56

<sup>159</sup> For complete study see Blackman, "House of Morning" in : *JEA* 5, 1918, 148

<sup>160</sup> For the complete study see Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3- Njsw*, passim

<sup>161</sup> Princess *Htp- hr- Nb.tj*, princess *in.t-k3.s*, princess *Rdit* and an unnamed prince with this title who was recorded in Wadi Maghara, see Schmitz, *o.c* 12-14

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>163</sup> Schmitz, *o.c* passim; Onderka, *o.c* 56

administration. B. Schmitz mentioned that the officials without function in the state administration held this title.<sup>164</sup>

It might have been the case that this title appeared before the end of the Fifth Dynasty as a real title, but from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty this title was used sometimes as a real title and sometimes as a fictive title. This title probably used by the members of the royal family or by high official such as, *Ddf-hnmw*, *H3f-hwfw*<sup>165</sup> and *Mrjj-ttj* the son of Mereruka.<sup>166</sup> He holds the title of “King’s son”,<sup>167</sup> although his father, Mereruka, was not a king. But Mereruka had married the royal daughter Seshseshet, so perhaps Meryteti was given this title because; he was the grandchild of King Teti. Perhaps his grandfather gave him this title. This custom is similar to what is happening in Egypt, wherein the grandfather considers his grandchild as his son, because there is Egyptian parable saying that “Dearest sons are the grandchildren”. Maybe this parable derived from the ancient Egyptian belief. In the case of Nebkauhor, the title of *z3 nswt* was a real title; probably he was the real son of King Pepy II.

#### **The western side of the first pillar:**

This scene shows a striding figure of the first tomb owner, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar. He holds a long staff in his left hand, while holding a handkerchief in his right hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in seven lines see, [Fig.8]

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<sup>164</sup> Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3- Njswt*, passim

<sup>165</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, fig.45

<sup>166</sup> This tomb situated in the north of Teti’s pyramid complex in the Saqqara area

<sup>167</sup> Kanawati and Abder - Raziq, *Meryteti*, 22



(6)[*smr*] *w<sup>c</sup>ty iri nfr h3.t [hry-sšt3]*.

“The sole companion, Keeper of the headdress, One who is privy to the secret”<sup>169</sup>

(7) *im3hw hr nswt Nb-k3w-Hr*.

“Revered with the king,<sup>170</sup> Nebkauhor”

**The northern side of the first pillar:**

This scene shows a striding figure of the first tomb owner facing east, with his left leg forward. He wears a half-pleated kilt,<sup>171</sup> a short rounded wig, a false beard and a broad collar. He holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left one. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in six lines. See, [Fig.9]:

6	5	4	3	2	1

(1).....*hm [ntr]*.....

“....Priest....”

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*, 609[2233]

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, 30 [135]

<sup>171</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, 39

(2).....*h* .....

(3) .....*imy-r3 zš ʿ (w) (nw) nswt*....

“...overseer of the scribes of king’s documents”

(4) *hry-sšt3*.....

“One who is privy to the secret.....”

(5) *hry-sšt3 n Pr-dw3t*.....

“One who is privy to the secret of the house of morning.....”

(6)[*im3hw*] *hr nswt Nb-k3w-Hr*

“[Revered] with the king, Nebkauhor.....”

### **The southern side of the first pillar:**

This scene shows a striding figure of the first tomb owner facing east, with his left leg forward. He wears a half-pleated kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar. He holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left one. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in six lines. See, [Fig.10]:

1	2	3	4	5	6

(1) *shd hm(w)-ntr [nfr-swt- Wnis]* .

“Inspector of *hm(w)-ntr* priests of the pyramid “the places of Unis are beautiful”.

(2) *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty –<sup>c</sup> smr w<sup>c</sup>ty.*

“Hereditary prince,<sup>172</sup> Count, Sole companion”

According to N.Strudwick the title of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* is found most consistently before the reign of Neferirkare or approximately, being held by every vizier from early Fourth Dynasty onwards.<sup>173</sup>

(3) *t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 [zš<sup>c</sup>(w) (nw) nswt]*.

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and Vizier, Overseer [of the scribes of the king’s documents]

(4) [*smr*] *w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-sšt3 n Pr-[dw3t]*.

“The sole companion, One who is privy to the secret of the house of morning”.

(5) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty mrrw nb.f.*

“The sole companion, whom his lord loves”<sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup>Jones, *An Index*, 315[1157]

<sup>173</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration*, 307



(6) *im3hw hr nswt Nb-k3w-Hr.*

“Revered with the king, Nebkauhor”

Below the figure of the tomb owner there is an inscription in sunk relief:



The text reads:

*s3b*

“Dappled”<sup>175</sup>

Perhaps this word was added after the inscription for the original tomb owner had been written, because *s3b* in this position has been written by a different penmanship. Could one suggest that, this word was added during Nebkauhor’s time by the craftsmen, to refer to something in the decoration of the first pillar. They removed the original tomb owner’s name and added the name of Nebkauhor. We could consider this word as an adjective. Otherwise, *s3b* in this position could be the name of craftsman who changed the name of the original owner.

### **The second pillar on the eastern side:**

The tomb owner in this scene shows in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a short kilt, a panther’s skin, a short wig with curls depicted as small circles<sup>176</sup> and a broad necklace. He holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in seven lines. See, [Fig.11]:

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<sup>174</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 895 [3282]

<sup>175</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 210

<sup>176</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Hesi*, 40

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(1) *shd hm[w]-ntr [ nfr-swt- Wnis].*

“Inspector of *hm(w)-ntr* priests of the pyramid “the places of Unis are beautiful”

(2) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-sšt3 n Pr-[dw3t].*

“The sole companion [and] One who is privy to the secret of the house of morning”

(3) *ḏ-mr Hr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt imi-ib [n nb.f].*

“Administrator of (the royal domain) ‘Star-of-Horus-foremost-of-Heaven, who presides over heaven,<sup>177</sup> Favourite of his lord”

(4) *t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 [zš ḥ(w) nswt]*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and Vizier, Overseer of the scribes of the king’s documents”

(5) *imy-r3 šnwty imy-r3 prwy-ḥd.*

“The overseer of two granaries,<sup>178</sup> Overseer of the two treasuries<sup>179</sup>”

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 358[1331]

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, 253[916]

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, 133[524]

According to N. Strudwick<sup>180</sup> the title of *imy-r3 šnw.t* appears thirty-seven times in the Memphite Necropolis during the Old Kingdom: twenty-two were viziers. While the title of *Imy-r3 prwy-hꜣ* appears for the first time in early Fourth Dynasty, and it appears in the Old Kingdom thirty-seven times in the Memphite Necropolis. Twenty-four of the title-holders were viziers.<sup>181</sup>

(6) *imy-r3 wꜣbty, imy-r3 prwy nbw.*

“Overseer of the two workshops,<sup>182</sup> Overseer of the two houses of gold”<sup>183</sup>

(7) *smr wꜣty mrrw nb.f.*

“The sole companion, Whom his lord loves”

**The second Pillar on the southern side:**

The tomb owner in this scene appears in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in six lines. See, [Fig.14].

1	2	3	4	5	6

<sup>180</sup> Strudwick, *The Administration*, 259

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid* , 280

<sup>182</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 87[374]

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, 132[522]

(1) *shd hm(w)-ntr [nfr swt- Wnis]* .

“Inspector of *hm(w)-ntr* priests of the pyramid “the places of Unis are beautiful”

(2) *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3t y-<sup>c</sup> imy -[iz] Nhn smr w<sup>c</sup>ty.*

“Hereditary prince, Count, Councillor of Nekhen (?), The sole companion”

(3) *t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 [zš <sup>c</sup>(w) nswt].*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and vizier, Overseer of the scribes of king’s documents”

(4) *hry-hbt hry-tp zš md3t ntr hry-sšt3.*

“Chief lector priest, Scribe of God’s book, One who is privy to the secret”

(5) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty n mrwt hr nb.f.*

“The sole companion, Possessor of love with his lord”<sup>184</sup>

(6) *im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 3ht-htp.*

“Revered with the Great God, Akhethotep”

On this side of the second pillar the craftsmen forgot to remove the name of the first tomb owner, Akhethotep.

### **The third Pillar on the eastern side:**

Unfortunately, the scene is badly damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene appears in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a short kilt, a panther’s skin, a short wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his left hand, while holding a scepter in his right hand. See, [Fig.15].

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<sup>184</sup>Jones, *An Index*, 895 [3280]

**The third Pillar on the western side:**

Unfortunately, the scene is badly damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace. He holds a long staff in his left hand, while holding a scepter in his right hand. See, [Fig.16].

**The third Pillar on the northern side:**

This scene is also badly damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand? See, [Fig.17].

**The third Pillar on the southern side:**

This is another scene that is badly damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.18].

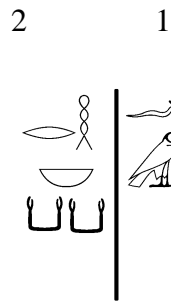
**The fourth Pillar on the eastern side:**

Once again, this pillar is also damaged, but it can be understood from other comparisons. The tomb owner is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.19].

**The fourth Pillar on the western side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his left hand,

while holding a handkerchief in his right hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief in two lines. See, [Fig.20].



(1) [Nb].f Hr.

“His lord Horus”

(2) Nb-k3w-Hr.

“Nebkauhor”

**The fourth Pillar on the northern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, but its contents can be reconstructed by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner appears in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his left hand, while holding a handkerchief in his right hand. See, [Fig.21].

**The fourth Pillar on the southern side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. He appears in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a short kilt, a short wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.22].

**The fifth Pillar on the eastern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, nothing more than two feet of the tomb owner can be seen. The relief would have shown him as being in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. See, [Fig.23].

**The fifth Pillar on the western side:**

Unfortunately, the scene is so badly damaged that nothing more than two feet of the tomb owner are seen. These make it certain that he had been shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. See, [Fig.24].

**The fifth Pillar on the northern side:**

Unfortunately, the scene is badly damaged; nothing more than two feet of the tomb owner shows him in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. See, [Fig.25].

**The fifth Pillar on the southern side:**

This scene is also badly damaged; nothing more than two feet of the tomb owner is shown him in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. See, [Fig.26].

**The sixth Pillar on the eastern side:**

Once again, the scene is partly destroyed. The remains show that the tomb owner in this scene has had his head and body completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene would have been shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a short kilt, a short wig with curls depicted as small circles, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.27].

**The sixth Pillar on the western side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged. The tomb owner appears the head and the body completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. Originally, the tomb owner in this scene would have been shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a short kilt, a panther's skin, a short wig with curls depicted as small circles, a

false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.28].

**The sixth Pillar on the northern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.29].

**The sixth Pillar on the southern side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged, the tomb owner is shown has had his head and the body completely destroyed in the relief, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner appears in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and he is facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.30].

**The seventh Pillar on the eastern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, and the tomb owner in this scene has had the head and part of his body destroyed, but the scene can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a kilt and sport tunic fastened at the waist with a belt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.31].

**The seventh Pillar on the western side:**

Again, the scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene would have been in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a kilt and sporting tunic fastened at the waist with a belt. He has a long wig, a false



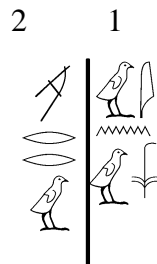
beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.32].

**The seventh Pillar on the northern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, but, by comparison, we know that the tomb owner in this scene would have been shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.33].

**The seventh Pillar on the southern side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged. The tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, but the picture can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a short kilt, a panther’s skin, a short wig with curls depicted as small circles, a false beard and a broad necklace. In his right hand he holds a long staff, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.34-A-B].



The text reads:

(1) *iw n sw.*

“It is for him(?) ”

(2) *mrrw.*

“Beloved “

**The eighth Pillar on the eastern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is badly damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, with nothing more remaining, other than two feet of the tomb owner, but the image can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace. He holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.35].

**The eighth Pillar on the western side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed: nothing more remains, except for two feet, but the scene can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.36].

**The eighth Pillar on the northern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed nothing more than two feet, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a kilt and sport tunic fastened at the waist with a belt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.37].

**The eighth Pillar on the southern side:**

Like the others, this pillar is damaged, and remains of the tomb owner shows nothing more than two feet, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. See, [Fig.38].

### **The ninth Pillar on the eastern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged. The tomb owner's head and part of the body have been destroyed, but the missing scene can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a kilt and sporting tunic fastened at the waist with a belt. He also wears a long wig – as in the other pillar reliefs - a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.39].

### **The ninth Pillar on the western side:**

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged: the tomb owner's head and the body have been completely destroyed, but, by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars, we understand that the tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing north. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief. See, [Fig.40-A-B]:



*im3hw hr*

“Revered with ....”

### **The ninth Pillar on the northern side:**

As with other pillars in this room, the scene is damaged, the tomb owner is shown the head and the body completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing west. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad collar; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a handkerchief in his left hand. See, [Fig.41].

### The ninth Pillar on the southern side:

The scene on this pillar is, like the others damaged: the tomb owner's head and the body have been completely destroyed, but it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes on other pillars. The tomb owner in this scene is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a projecting kilt, a long wig, a false beard and a broad necklace; he holds a long staff in his right hand, while holding a scepter in his left hand. Above him is a vertical inscription in raised relief. See, [Fig.42-A-B].



The text reads:

*im3hw hr*

“Revered with .....

### The southern wall of the pillared Hall:

This wall consists of two parts: the lower part is completely damaged, while the upper part is divided into three blocks. The first block, consists of four registers, the first register bears only the remains of a horizontal inscription. [See Fig.43]



The second register bears the scene of a woodcutting<sup>185</sup> by a shepherd; beside him four goats eating leaves from the trees;<sup>186</sup> one of them appears under the twigs of the tree inside an oval pen. Behind it there are the hind quarters of ox, and remains of an inscription *rn iw3* “A young ox”.<sup>187</sup> The shepherd wears a short wig and a loin-

<sup>185</sup> For an example of a complete version of this scene see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 73-4

<sup>186</sup> Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 15

<sup>187</sup> Hassan, *Giza I*, 132; Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, 12

cloth; he stoops forward with all his weight thrown upon his left leg, and holds a rip-saw with both hands. Behind him is the stump of another tree which he has already cut down. Above him is a horizontal inscription.<sup>188</sup>



The text reads:

*skdi*

“Fell the tree with the axe”

The third register contains two goats eating leaves from a tree. Behind the goats there is a bag with a handle containing two jars, and beside it is another tall jar with a conical stopper. Upon this jar there is a rectangular shape, apparently a bundle tied up in a cloth, perhaps the rectangular shape included his food? Or perhaps it represents the provisions of the woodcutter.<sup>189</sup> The fourth register bears only remains of five pairs of animal legs and one pair of human legs.

According to Smith<sup>190</sup> the scene of woodcutter and goats eating leaves from the tree, became popular during the late Old Kingdom.

The second block is divided into four registers. The first register is badly damaged; there only remains a horizontal inscription.



The second register bears the images of a group of men who are represented wearing short wigs and loin-cloths. They are shown as walking to the left, carrying between them a long baulk of wood. The heavy loads is hung from a lighter baulk by means of ropes placed at suitable intervals, and of such a length as to allow the wood to hang well clear of the ground. The baulk is carried upon the shoulder of the group

<sup>188</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 29; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 27-8

<sup>189</sup> The wood of the trees was perhaps used for building boats in this scene, according to the inscriptions which found in the tomb of *Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep sc ht in skd* “Felling the tree by the shipbuilder”, see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 74

<sup>190</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 364

of men who are holding the baulk of wood by one hand and, with the other hand, holding the ropes. In front of the first man is a tall jar with a conical stopper standing upon the ground, while the last men are completely damaged except for the remains of their legs.<sup>191</sup>

The third register shows the scene featuring a woodcutter, where two men are depicted cutting the tree. The first one on the right wears a short wig and a loin-cloth; he stoops forward with all his weight thrown upon his left leg, and holds a rip saw with both hands. Above him is a horizontal inscription.

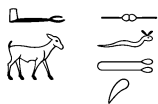


The text reads:

*skdw(t)*

“Fell the tree”.<sup>192</sup>

Two goats jump with their forelegs on the lower branches of a small tree.<sup>193</sup> The middle one wears a short wig and a loin-cloth; he stoops forward with all his weight thrown upon his left leg, and holds a rip saw with both hands. A goat jumps with its foreleg on the upper branches of a tree, the hindmost goat is depicted facing right. The herdsman is seated on the ground in a squat pose in front of a tree and wearing a short wig and a loin-cloth. Engaged in skinning a goat which is swinging from the branches. At the top of the tree is a goat jumping up with its foreleg on the upper twigs of a tree. Above the herdsman is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*sft ʿwt* .

<sup>191</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 30

<sup>192</sup> It is strange as a caption for a man felling a tree, but occurs again at Saqqara, see Fisher, *JEA* 65, 1979, 176-182; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 74

<sup>193</sup> Kanawati, *The rock tombs of el-Hawawish*, 27

“Slaughtering goat”<sup>194</sup>

The fourth register carries a group of goats. The first pair is depicted in the act of mating, while the second pair represents two goats who are fighting. Another goat jumps with its foreleg on the upper twigs of a tree.

The third block, is completely damaged, nothing more remains than traces of a gazelle and remains of hedgehog.<sup>195</sup> It can be suggested that the original scene showed the hunting in the desert<sup>196</sup> or the desert landscape.<sup>197</sup>

The fourth block is divided into three registers. The first one is completely damaged; nothing more remains than parts of a vine trellis.<sup>198</sup> The original scene shows a gang of men treading the grapes in a trampling vat. They wear short wigs and loin-cloths. The grapes are continuously poured into a pool by a man on the far left, and there are two vertical wooden beams on the sides of the pool joined with another crossbeam. The gang of men are trampling the grapes inside the stone basin and holding the horizontal baulk with one arm, while the second arm of each man is placed around the waist of his colleague.<sup>199</sup> The second and the third block decorated with the scene of the gathering grapes or dates. The first register depicts three men, each wearing a short wig and loin-cloth and carrying baskets which full of grapes or dates, which they are taking towards the trampling vat. They are headed by a fourth man who has set down his load and is handing out the grapes to another man in order to put them in the pot, where it will be trampled to extract the juice.<sup>200</sup> Above the fourth and fifth man is a vertical inscription.

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<sup>194</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §536

<sup>195</sup> The modern Egyptian in the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt used to eat this animal, because hedgehog used to eat the herbs. They burned its hide as incense to protect them from various forms of evil and envy

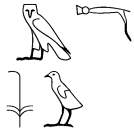
<sup>196</sup> Montet, *Les scènes*, 84

<sup>197</sup> For a study of desert hunting see Vandier, *Manuel*, 4, 791ff; for the complete scene see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Meryteti*, 23-6; Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, 77,79, 89-91, 189-91, 201-2; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 109-10

<sup>198</sup> Davies, N. de G., *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, 10

<sup>199</sup> Bárta, *South Abusir*, 95

<sup>200</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 31



The text reads:

*mḥ sw*

“Fill it “

The second register depicts the papyrus thicket growing in the water, on the left side there are four men. The first one is plucking the papyrus stems,<sup>201</sup> while the second one is carrying his load away in order to water the garden.<sup>202</sup> And the third one is carrying a basket full of grapes upon his head. The fourth man is shown as a naked man.

According to Edel, this scene is related to the lettuce harvest which took a part in Egypt during spring.<sup>203</sup>

### **The eastern wall of the pillared Hall:**

This wall is divided into several blocks, they are badly damaged. The first block, from the northern end shows three registers. The first register shows only the remains of a human head. The second register shows only the remains of the figure of the tomb owner. Behind him there are two priests shown in a striding pose, and facing right. They wear triangular kilts and short wigs, the lower part of which is completely damaged. They place their right hands upon their left shoulders as a symbol of respect;<sup>204</sup> the third one shows only the remains of two human legs.

The second block is divided into two registers. The first register bears the scene of estate managers giving their accounts to scribes.<sup>205</sup> Two scribes are seated upon the ground, and facing left. The first one is completely damaged nothing more remains than a scribe's outfit. While the second one holds a roll of papyrus with his

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<sup>201</sup> For the complete bibliography see, Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 158-161

<sup>202</sup> Bárta, *South Abusir*, 94

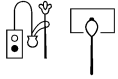
<sup>203</sup> Edel, *Weltkammer, II*, 170

<sup>204</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 32

<sup>205</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 150-1



left hand. Two pens are placed behind his left ear. In front of him is the scribe's outfit, which consists of an oval desk: upon this desk rests a water-pot, a palette, which contains of red and black ink, another small palette, and three rolls of papyrus which are tied together. Above the scribe there is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*zš pr-ḥd*

“The scribe of the treasury”<sup>206</sup>

Above the scribe's outfit there is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*d3d3(t) n(t) [Pr-dt].....*

“Magistrates/ assessors of the funerary estate.....”<sup>207</sup>

In front of the scribe are four men. They wear short wigs and triangular kilts. The first two are scribes who carry palettes containing reed pens placed under their right arms and a roll of papyrus. Behind them another man is carrying a long staff surmounted by a small cloth, while holding a Saluki dog with his right hand. Behind him are the remains of a human leg. According to Harpur,<sup>208</sup> the scene of scribes' half-kneeling and recording information on sheets of papyrus appeared twenty-four times during the Old Kingdom. It can now be suggested that this scene appeared twenty-five

<sup>206</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 851[3109]

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*, 1010, [3743]

<sup>208</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

times in the Old Kingdom, because this scene also decorated the eastern wall of the pillared hall of the tomb of Nebkauhor.

The second register shows only remains of two pairs of human legs moving in different directions; perhaps, they are depicting the offering bearers.

The third block is divided into three registers. The first one is completely damaged. Nothing more remains than the upper end of a long staff; perhaps this staff belongs to the tomb owner. Above this staff is a horizontal inscription.



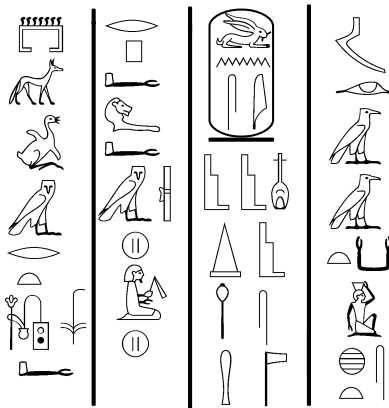
The text reads:

*hry-hbt*

“Lector priest”

There are four vertical inscriptions:

4      3      2      1



1- *m33 k3t sht*

“Inspecting the work of the field”

2- *shd hm(w)-ntr [nfr-swt Wnis]*

“Inspector of *hm(w)-ntr* priests of the pyramid “ the places of Unis are beautiful”

3- *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3t y<sup>c</sup> imy - [iz] Nhn z3w Nhn*

“Hereditary prince, Count, Councillor of Nekhen (?), Protector of Hierakonpolis”

4- *t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 [zš<sup>c</sup>(w) nswt].*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and Vizier, Overseer of the Scribes of King’s Documents”

The second register bears the scene of the agriculture activity;<sup>209</sup> two groups of men are ploughing with a pair of oxen. The first group is wearing short wigs and loin-cloths. One man guides the handles of the wooden plough, while the other flourishes a stick at the cattle with his right hand, and the third man is holding a rope with his right hand in order to lead the pair of oxen. Around his neck is hanging a bag of seeds, which he supports with his left hand. Behind the first man there are two jars and an open basket, which is crowded with bread, meat, two jars, roasted goose, and lettuce (?). Above this scene is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*sk3 hr.t<sup>210</sup> b3kt .*

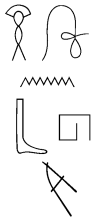
“Cultivating with the plow, up, your two servants”<sup>211</sup>

The second group is similar to the first group. Above this scene is a vertical inscription.

<sup>209</sup> Montet, *Les scènes*, 180 ; for the complete bibliography see, Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 88-91

<sup>210</sup> The Arabic word “بيغرت” derived from ancient Egyptian word (*hr.t*) which means cultivating

<sup>211</sup> See Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 130; it should be translated it as “Cultivating with the plow under the cattle team”.

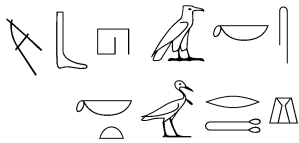


The text reads:

*w3h n hb*

“Setting the plow”<sup>212</sup>

Above the figure of oxen is a horizontal inscription.

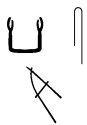


The text reads:

*sk3 hb hr.t b3kty*

“Cultivating with the plow, up, your two servants”<sup>213</sup>

There are two groups of men driving a group of sheep over the newly-sown ground in order to trample in the seed. The first shepherd wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth, and holds a lash in his right hand. He raises his lash high over the backs of the sheep,<sup>214</sup> while holding a long staff with his left hand. In front of him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*sk3*

“Cultivating “

<sup>212</sup>J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 456, 462

<sup>213</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 142-143

<sup>214</sup> Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 18-9

This scene now is completely damaged but according to Hassan's description,<sup>215</sup> in front of the herd there was a second shepherd bending over the rams. Behind him is another one, who is shown in a squatting pose upon a mound and facing left. He holds a long staff with his left hand. Behind him are two bags of seeds. Above them is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*prt*

“Seed”

In the upper register appears the scene of four offering bearers who are walking to the north.<sup>216</sup> The first one wears a short wig and loin-cloth, and has a necklace which hangs on his chest. He carries a lotus flower and two buds in his right hand, while holding a bundle of papyrus stems with his left hand, and hangs a bag from the crook of his left arm. The second one wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth. He holds three lotus flowers, two buds, and a bread loaf on his right shoulder which he supports with his right hand, while hanging a fish by a rope from the crook of his left arm. The third one wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth. He holds a bundle of papyrus reeds with his left hand, while holding a bunch of lotus-flower and a live duck, and lotus buds with his right hand. The fourth one wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth. He holds a covered pot upon his right shoulder and a bundle of papyrus stems which he supports with his left hand, while holding a lotus flower and two buds with his right hand. A bag is hanging over his right arm. In front of the first man there is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

<sup>215</sup>Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 34-5

<sup>216</sup>For the complete bibliography see, Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 208-237



The fourth man packs up the flax. He wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth, and behind him is another man who holds a lotus-flower with his left hand in order to smell it, while hanging a bag with his left arm. In front of him is another man. He wears a short wig, and a loin-cloth. He is shown in a striding pose, and turns his head round in order to speak with his colleague, between the two men depicted growing flax. In front of this man are only remains of human feet. In front of these remains is another man. He is shown in a striding pose, and wears a short wig and a loin-cloth. He holds a handkerchief with his right hand, while raising his left hand. In front of this man is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*ini rm pw n Idu.*

“Bringing this fish for Idu” (?)

Opposite to them is another man who is shown in a striding pose, and leaning upon a long staff, perhaps this man is an overseer of the work. This scene is badly damaged.

To the right of this scene is the scene of marshes, where different kinds of birds flapping their wings over the papyrus thicket are depicted. Some of them are perching upon the nest, which appears in the third register.

The two following slabs are divided into two registers. The lower register shows a dragnet<sup>219</sup> or seine-netting scene,<sup>220</sup> in which ten fishermen<sup>221</sup> are divided into

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<sup>219</sup> Seine-netting scenes appeared for the first time at Saqqara tombs probably, in the tomb of Kaaper, see, (Bárta, *South Abusir*, 162-3), but the fishing scene appeared for the first time in the Old Kingdom at Maidum in the tomb of Rahotep (Harpur, *Decoration*, 145), and in the Giza cemetery in the tomb Kawab, (Simpson, *Kawab*, 4)

<sup>220</sup> Montet, *Les scènes*, 32, 42

two groups of five men who are pulling a net ashore. All of them are under the supervisions of an overseer who instructs them, by means of his right hand. He holds a rope in his left hand. He stands in their midst, and wears a projecting kilt. The dragnet haulers are wearing short wigs – except for two of them, who are shown as bald men, and wearing loin-cloths.<sup>222</sup> On each side of the boat, two fishermen are kneeling and each grasps the rope of the net. This scene is full of life with vital activity and movements, showing the fishermen engrossed in their work. In the water below the papyrus boat is a large seine net congested with different kinds of fish:

*Synodontis batensoda, Tilapia, Mormyrus kannume, lates niloticus, Mugil, Petrocephalus bovei, Tetrodon fahaqa.*<sup>223</sup>

The upper register shows the scene of papyrus gatherers and porters<sup>224</sup> carrying bundles to the papyrus boat builder.<sup>225</sup> According to Harpur<sup>226</sup> the earliest preserved scenes of papyrus gathers are in the Giza chapels of *Nb.i-m-3ht* and *Fi (ii-mrii* (?), where two men wearing short wigs and loin-cloths are facing each other and are shown binding a large bunch of papyrus stems with rope. Behind them is a third man, shown as a bald man and wearing a loin-cloth. He is walking away and carrying a heavy bunch of papyrus with his both arms.<sup>227</sup> The fourth man is represented in a striding pose, and carries a heavy bunch of papyrus over his back.<sup>228</sup> The fifth man wears a short wig, a loin-cloth. He is facing right, and carries a bunch of papyrus between his arms.<sup>229</sup> The sixth man was shown leaning forward over a bunch of

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<sup>221</sup> In Sahure's complex this scene shows depicted seventeen fishermen standing onshore, see El Awady, *Sahure the Pyramid Causeways*, 229

<sup>222</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, 35; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, 49-50

<sup>223</sup> For the study of the fishing scenes see Harpur, *Decoration*, 145-8; Montet, *Les scenes*, 20-42; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 532-658; Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, 5-46

<sup>224</sup> D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig, *Mummies and magic*, 85; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 42, 101; Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente*, 132-3

<sup>225</sup> Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 12

<sup>226</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 149

<sup>227</sup> Petrie and Murray, *Seven chapels*, 20

<sup>228</sup> Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, 124

<sup>229</sup> Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 204



papyrus, which he has apparently dropped on the ground, in front of him is a large bunch on the ground with his equipment, which consists of a small bag, and rope.<sup>230</sup>

The fourth block is divided into three registers. The first one is completely damaged nothing more remains than of two human heads, and rope.

The second register shows the scene of fish-gutter cleaning a recent catch of fish;<sup>231</sup> and three other men. The first man squats on the ground, performing the menial task of gutting the day's catch with a broad-bladed knife,<sup>232</sup> while he catches the fish with his left hand, and sets it drying in the sun. In front of him are five unclean fish. The second man is shown as a bald man wearing a loin-cloth. He stands and catches two cleaned fish, while the third man is shown squatting on a pillow,<sup>233</sup> wearing a short wig, and a loin-cloth. He holds a stick with his left hand, while holding the head of a gutted fish with his right hand. He appears to be offering the fish-head to another man, who standing and facing to him. In front of them there are eleven cleaned fish on the ground in order to dry.<sup>234</sup>

The third register represents the scene of papyrus boat construction:<sup>235</sup> the artist has depicted four men at work on the construction of a papyrus-boat. The first man is binding up the prow of the boat with a cord which he holds in both hands, and which has its free end passed over his shoulders. He is standing and facing left with his left leg on the ground, while the right one is on the stern of the boat, and the left is braced upon the stern of the papyrus-boat as he pulls at the cord. He is shown completely naked.<sup>236</sup> The second man was shown facing left and binding up a part of the boat with a cord held in the same manner as that of his colleague. He is standing in the papyrus boat with all his weight thrust forward onto his left leg for giving a strong pull upon

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<sup>230</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 36

<sup>231</sup> Abder- Raziq and Kanawati, *Iynefert*, 19; Hassan, *Ny ankh Pepy*, 97; Hassan, *Hemet-Re*, 39

<sup>232</sup> Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, 104

<sup>233</sup> Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, 12

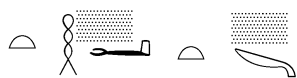
<sup>234</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 36

<sup>235</sup> Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, 21, 114-15; Montet, *Les scènes*, 327-347.

<sup>236</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 36-7



of men is carrying different cuts of meat.<sup>240</sup> Above this scene is a horizontal inscription. See, [Fig.57].



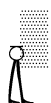
The text reads:

*t.....hn<sup>c</sup>.....*

*.....with....*

The second register represents two offering tables and a big covered pot.<sup>241</sup> The first offering table contains some long conical bread while on the left side of the table is a head of an ox and cuts of meat. On the right side of the table are different kinds of bread. The offering table is full with different kinds of offerings,<sup>242</sup> such as a covered pot, cuts of meat, some conical bread loaves, fruit, vegetables and duck. The second table is crowded with different kinds of offerings, such as cuts of meat, some conical bread loaves, fruits and a live duck. On both sides of the offering table are two tall vessels on a stand. On the left of the second offering table is a covered pot. On both sides of the covered pot are some conical bread loaves.

The sixth block is divided into two registers. The first register is completely damaged and shows only remains of the scene of gathering the flax (?). Three men are depicted. In front of the middle one are remains of flax plant,<sup>243</sup> while behind the third one are remains of the upper part of papyrus thicket and a horizontal inscription is badly damaged.



The text reads:

*“...ini...”*

*“...Bringing.....”*

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<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, 54

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, 24

<sup>242</sup> Hassan, *Ny-ankh-Pepy*, 45

<sup>243</sup> May one suggest that the original position for this scene beside the scene of gathering of flax



The text reads:

....mḥꜥw....

“...Flax...”<sup>244</sup>

The second register is completely damaged, and there are only traces of a human body. Perhaps a scene of offering bearers (?) was depicted. There are also remains of a hieroglyphic inscription.



### **The northern wall of the pillared hall:**

The northern wall of the pillared hall is divided into several registers. The first register shows a scene of offering bearers, facing left and striding towards the tomb owner. They wear short wigs and kilt fastened at the waist with a belt.<sup>245</sup> The offering bearers are painted reddish-brown, while the offerings are painted yellow and blue. The first man on the left carries different kinds of food loaded onto a plate including: conical bread loaves, lettuce, a head of calf, and cuts of meat; in the crook of his right arm hangs a jar with a conical lid made of papyrus.<sup>246</sup> In the crook of his left arm are bundle of three onions and holds a vessel. In front of him is a vertical inscription. See, [Pl. VA-B].

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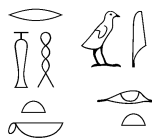
<sup>244</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 114

<sup>245</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iyefert*, 19

<sup>246</sup> In the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt, it is noteworthy that nowadays they put the jute around the jar to preserve the coldness of the water in the jar - the same as “Al-qulall Al-Qenawi”



Behind the fourth man is an offering table with grapes and figs. Under the left side of the offering table is a bread loaf. Behind the offering table is a fifth man who carries a pottery vessel in his right hand, while carrying a plate loaded with different kinds of offerings including: three covered pots, lettuce, long conical bread loaves and a cuts of meat. Behind the fifth man is a stand upon which is placed a large bowl containing lotus flowers, some of which have opened leaves as well as closed; the leaves and buds are also arranged in a charmingly tasteful manner. Under the large bowl are two conical bread loaves on both sides.<sup>249</sup> Behind the large bowl is a sixth man, who carries a plate in his right hand loaded with different kinds of offerings including: a covered pot, pumpkin, and different kinds of conical bread loaves; his left hand has a plate filled with different kinds of offerings including: lettuce, cut of meat, pumpkin, and a head of calf.<sup>250</sup> Behind him is an offering table filled with different kinds of offerings including: lettuce, conical bread loaves, and a haunch of meat. Under the offering table is a covered pot on the left side of a stand. Behind the offering table is a seventh man who has a plate in his right hand loaded with different kinds of conical bread loaves, while he carries a covered pot in his left hand. Behind this man is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*iw iri.tw r hst.k*

“This will be done as you praise”

Behind the seventh man is a scene of the cooking of geese.<sup>251</sup> This scene depicts a seated man, while a male cook busily fans the embers in a brazier over which he bends. Upon the brazier is a large ceramic pot in which three geese<sup>252</sup> are

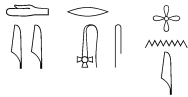
<sup>249</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 18

<sup>250</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 52

<sup>251</sup> A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The rock tombs of Meir*, 14-15

<sup>252</sup> Houlihan, *The Birds*, 57

being cooked.<sup>253</sup> It is noteworthy that nowadays this method of cooking is still practised in the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt - not because there is no modern method for cooking available, but because this method of cooking is considered to be healthy. The majority of Egyptian women in Upper Egypt prefer to use ceramic pots instead of stone pots, as the former are considered healthier than the latter. In front of the cook is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*wḏi r sḏt wni*

“Put<sup>254</sup> it on the fire, [hurry!] ....”<sup>255</sup> ↓

In front of the brazier is another man who is depicted sitting on the ground plucking a goose, which he holds up by one wing. He holds with his feet’s finger tip the other wing. Above this man is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*h3d z3*

→“Plucking a goose”<sup>256</sup>

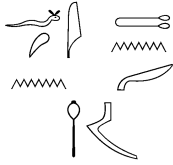
Above the brazier are five geese inside a coop. On the right side of this coop is a large plate loaded with different kinds of offerings, such as five slaughtered geese, and three conical bread loaves. Behind this plate are three ceramic pots, each one includes four geese. Below the scene of ceramic pots, a seated man is engaged in slicing up a large joint of meat placed on butcher’s block. In front of him is a horizontal inscription.

<sup>253</sup> U. Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, 110-116

<sup>254</sup> J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 457

<sup>255</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 65, 1979, 176-182

<sup>256</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 18

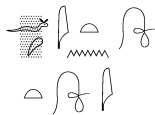


The text reads:

*tn.(i)<sup>257</sup> iwf n m3-ḥd*

“I am cutting up the flesh of an oryx”<sup>258</sup>

To his right is a standing man. A male cook<sup>259</sup> busily fans the embers in a brazier over which he bends. Upon the brazier is a large ceramic pot in which three geese are being cooked. Above him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*fst [iwf] n iw3t*

“Cooking the meat of a cow”

To the right of the cook is an offering bearer who carries long conical bread in his right hand, while holding a tall vessel in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*ḥm-ntr*

“*ḥm-ntr* priest”

<sup>257</sup> It should be read as *tn(t)*, as in the second case ‘Cutting up the meat’

<sup>258</sup> Fisher, *JEA* 65, 1979, 176-182

<sup>259</sup> Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, 110-116





*iw n Nb-k3w-Hr im3hw*

“It is for the honored, Nebkauhor”<sup>262</sup>

The third offering bearer carries a plate upon his head loaded with a haunch of meat, pumpkin, in addition to cuts of meat, which is supported by his right hand while holding a duck. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b n Hry-š.f*

“Pure conical bread of Herishef”<sup>263</sup>

The fourth offering bearer carries two conical bread loaves: one upon his head and the second in his right hand. He holds a covered jar in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

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<sup>262</sup> The name of Nebkauhor is added later

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*, 253



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b n Hry-š.f*

“Pure conical bread of Herishef”

The sixth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head containing different kinds of foods, such as pumpkin, cuts of meat, and conical bread loaves, in addition to a large haunch of meat across his shoulder which is supported by his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.

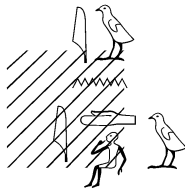


The text reads:

*[hm-ntr]*

“*[hm-ntr priest]*”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*iw [n Idu im3hw]*

“It is [for the honored, Idu]”<sup>264</sup>

The seventh offering bearer carries a plate upon his head with different kinds of foods, such as pumpkin, round jar, and conical bread loaves, which is supported by his right hand while holding a duck with his left hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.

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<sup>264</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 65, 1979, 54



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b n pr-Pth*

“Pure conical bread of the House of Ptah”<sup>265</sup>

The eighth offering bearer carries a tall jar upon his head and a large haunch of meat across his shoulders, while holding a longitudinal bag of “hab-el-aziz” with both hands.<sup>266</sup> Above him is a horizontal inscription.

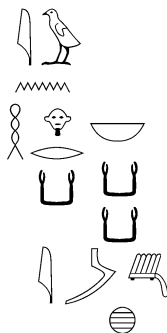


The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*iw n Nb-k3w-Hr im3hw*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*, 138

<sup>266</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 21

“It is for the honored, Nebkauhor”

The ninth offering bearer carries a tall jar upon his head which is supported by his right hand, while holding a duck with his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.

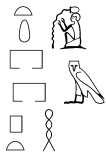


The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b pri m pr-Pth*

“Pure conical bread coming forth from the House of Ptah”

The tenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head with a tall jar and a covered pot supported by his right hand, in addition to a longitudinal bag of “hab-el-aziz” in his left hand while holding a duck in the same hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription giving his title.

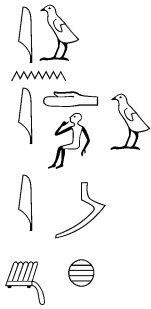


The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.

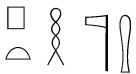


The text reads:

*iw n Idu im3hw*

“It is for the honored, Idu”<sup>267</sup>

The eleventh offering bearer carries a large haunch of meat across his shoulders, while holding a duck in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.

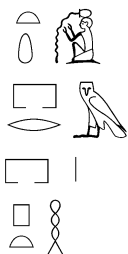


The text reads:

*hm-ntr Pth*

“The *hm-ntr* priest Ptah”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b pri m pr-Pth*

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<sup>267</sup> The name of Idu is added later

“Pure conical bread coming forth from the House of Ptah”

The twelfth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head containing two bread loaves, while holding a longitudinal bag of “hab-el-aziz”. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

[*hm-ntr*]

“[*hm-ntr* priest]”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*iw n* [*Nb-k3w-Hr im3hw*]

“It is for the [honored, Nebkauhor]”

The thirteenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head containing four bread loaves which is supported by his right hand, while holding a duck in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription giving his title.



The text reads:

*hm-ntr*



“*ḥm-nṯr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*t3 wꜥb n Tnn.t*

“Pure conical bread of Tjenenet”<sup>268</sup>

The fourteenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head loaded with a conical bread loaf and two pumpkins which is supported by his right hand, while carrying a large haunch of meat across his shoulders. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

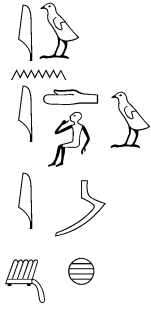
*ḥm-nṯr*

“*ḥm-nṯr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.

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<sup>268</sup> Ranke, *RPN*, 392



The text reads:

*iw n Idu im3hw*

“It is for the honored, Idu”

The fifteenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head consisting of four long conical bread loaves, which is supported by his right hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*t3 w<sup>c</sup>b n Tjnn.t*

“Pure conical bread of Tjenenet”

The sixteenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head containing four long conical bread loaves, which is supported by his right hand while holding a duck in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription.

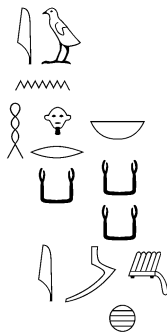


The text reads:

*hm-ntr*

“*hm-ntr* priest”

The seventeenth offering bearer carries a plate upon his head containing a conical bread loaf which is supported by his right hand while carrying a trussed goose stuck upon a spit in his left hand.<sup>269</sup> In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*iw n Nb-k3w-Hr im3hw*

“It is for the honored,<sup>270</sup> Nebkauhor”

The eighteenth offering bearer is badly damaged, and there are only traces of a large haunch of meat. The original scene showed an offering bearer carrying a large haunch of meat across his shoulders. The text above him is badly damaged.

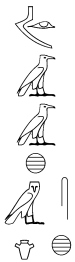
<sup>269</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 21

<sup>270</sup> K. A. Daoud, *Corpus of inscriptions*, 16-17



k3

The second register depicts the tomb owner seated on an armchair facing east. He wears a triangular kilt,<sup>271</sup> and rests his right hand upon the arm of the chair.<sup>272</sup> The upper part of the tomb owner's body is missing. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*m33 shmh-ib*

“Viewing amusements”

In front of the tomb owner are two registers. The first register depicts a scene of seven women dancing.<sup>273</sup> They wear broad necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and short triangular kilts that reach above their knees; while, their hair is cut short similar to the men. They raise their arms above their heads with their palms upwards. The women raise their right legs in order to dance, and face the tomb owner. In front of them is a vertical inscription.



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<sup>271</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 22

<sup>272</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 35

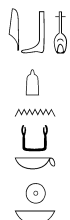
<sup>273</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 404; Montet, *Les scènes*, 357-365

The text reads:

*ib3 in hnr<sup>274</sup> n pr-dt*

“The iba dance of the harem of the house of eternity”

Between each girl is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*ib3 nfr n k3.k r<sup>c</sup> nb*

“Beautiful dancing for your *ka* everyday”

Behind the seven dancers are three other dancers wearing broad necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and long, tight garments. Their hair is cut short, and they face the tomb owner. The dancers are singing and clapping their hands in harmony.<sup>275</sup> Above them is a horizontal inscription.

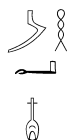


The text reads:

*hst m3h n hnr*

“Singing and clapping of the harem”

In front of each woman is a vertical inscription.



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<sup>274</sup> *hnr* written as in *hst m3g (i)n hnr*

<sup>275</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 22

The text reads:

*m3h nfr*

“Beautiful clapping”

Behind the hindmost woman is a man facing left. He wears a short wig and a short triangular kilt that reaches above his knees. He places his right hand upon his left shoulder in a gesture of respect, while grasping a baton in his left hand. Above him is an inscription.

|| \*

The text reads:

*sb3*

“Instructor”<sup>276</sup>

To the right of the scene with dancers are two offering tables. The first offering table has different kinds of offerings including figs and two pumkins, while beneath it are two conical bread loaves.<sup>277</sup> On the left side of the first offering table are two tall jars with conical seals, above which are some pieces of meat. Between the first and second offering tables are two tall jars with conical seals. The second offering table has different kinds of offerings, such as a pumkin, three conical bread loaves, and cuts of meat (?). Beneath the offering table are a conical bread loaf and the head of an ox. In the uppermost part of this scene are four shrines surmounted by a *hkr*-frieze.<sup>278</sup> To the right is a high, rectangular chapel flanked on either side by a pole bearing a pennant. Above the shrine is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*z3w*

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<sup>276</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 883, [3233]

<sup>277</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 23

<sup>278</sup> J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 448

“Sais”<sup>279</sup>

On the right is a scene of the journey to Sais.<sup>280</sup> It depicts the wooden coffin of the deceased,<sup>281</sup> which is placed inside a bier constructed of light, wooden poles.<sup>282</sup> On the boat to the right and the left of the stern are two mourners. They wear a long wig which band with tire, a scarf with a long, hanging streamer bound around their brow,<sup>283</sup> and tight garments.<sup>284</sup> Between the two mourners are two men, who are perhaps priests. They are shown in a squatting pose. They wear short wigs and short kilts, while the upper part of their bodies is naked. They face in different directions. Their left arms are crooked around one of the upright poles of the catafalque, but rest their two closed fists upon their chests.<sup>285</sup> The water under the papyrus boat is depicted with a broad, zigzag line that is painted blue.<sup>286</sup> Above the mourners is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*dryt*

“Mourner”<sup>287</sup>

Behind the papyrus boat is a standing man. He wears a short wig and a short kilt, while holding a long staff in his right hand. Behind him is another man, who is shown in a striding pose. He wears a long wig, a false beard, and a triangular kilt. The

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<sup>279</sup> This name is a Greek name derived from the ancient Egyptian name *z3w*. It is present-day Sa el-Hagar, located on the eastern bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile River. It was the capital of the fifth lower Egyptian Nome, and the main cult center of the goddess Neith, see K. Myśliwiec, in D. Redford, ed., *OEA*, vol. III, 173-4

<sup>280</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 46-55

<sup>281</sup> J. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, pl. xxii

<sup>282</sup> R. Macramallah, *Idout*, 12-13

<sup>283</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 20-1

<sup>284</sup> B. Grdseloff, *Ägyptische Reinigungszelt*, 37

<sup>285</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 24

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>287</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 1011 [3746]

man is reciting from a roll of papyrus, which he holds with both hands.<sup>288</sup> In front of the boat are four men, who wear short kilts. They face left, and are missing their heads. The men haul the rope of the boat to the bank. In front of them are two ritualists, who are shown in a striding pose, and facing right. They wear the stoles characteristic of their order, and are clad in triangular kilts. These men are reciting from a large roll of papyrus, which they hold with both hands. Behind them are two men in a striding pose, with their left leg forward and facing right. They are wearing short kilts, and hold a *hrp*-baton<sup>289</sup> in their right hands and a long staff in their left hands. They are missing their heads.

It may be suggested that the ancient Egyptians used to go to Sais - perhaps to be blessed by the goddess Neith, who was the patroness of weaving. Neith is also involved in funerary rituals: with Isis and others deities, she watches over the coffin of Osiris. As the goddess of weaving, she bestows mummy shrouds upon the deceased. She also played an important role in ancient Egyptian mythology, including when Osiris was murdered by his brother Seth.<sup>290</sup>

According to Harpur,<sup>291</sup> the scene of the journey to Sais is recorded seven times on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs.

To the right of this scene is a slaughtering scene,<sup>292</sup> which depicts two groups of butchers. In the first group, an ox is lying on the ground in front of the butcher and his assistant, who wear short wigs and loincloths. The butcher holds the head of the ox, which lies on the ground with its legs bound and an outstretched tongue. The ox's position enables his colleague, who is standing on the left side, to cut the carotid artery with a knife,<sup>293</sup> while his assistant sharpens the knife<sup>294</sup> behind him. The second group of butchers is also slaughtering an ox, which lies in front of them on the ground

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<sup>288</sup> Hassan, *Ny-ankh-Pepy*, 79

<sup>289</sup> J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 444

<sup>290</sup> See Simone: in D. Redford, (ed.), *OEA*, vol. II, 516

<sup>291</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>292</sup> Montet, *Les scènes*, 150; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 24

<sup>293</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 29

<sup>294</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 40-1



with its legs bound. The ox is missing its head, but the original scene depicted a butcher holding the head of an ox, which lies on the ground with its legs bound and an outstretched tongue. While the second butcher is cutting the foreleg<sup>295</sup> and one of the amputated legs and heart are being carried away, the belly of the ox is opened to remove the organs, while his assistant stands behind him in order to sharpen his knife. Unfortunately, the right part of this scene is badly damaged. The figures are painted reddish-brown. Above the first butcher is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*šdt ḥ3ty [in sšm]*

“Extracting<sup>296</sup> the heart<sup>297</sup> (by the butcher)”<sup>298</sup>

It may be suggested that the ancient Egyptian butcher slaughtered an ox from the left leg for two reasons. The first reason is perhaps there is a carotid artery directly related to the heart; so when he cuts this carotid, the ox will immediately die. The second reason is perhaps the foreleg (*ḥpš*) is the best part of the ox, and it is very tasty.

To the left of the slaughtering scene is an orchestra scene,<sup>299</sup> which depicts a group of musicians. The first musician is shown seated on the ground. He wears a short kilt, and is depicted with his own hair. Possibly, this musician is represented as a blind man. He faces the tomb owner, who is seated on an armchair in front of him,<sup>300</sup> while he plays upon an eight-stringed harp.<sup>301</sup> In front of him is a vertical inscription.

<sup>295</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 60-2

<sup>296</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 561

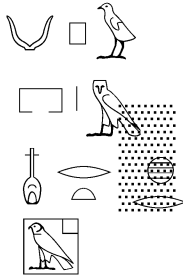
<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*, 550

<sup>298</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 62

<sup>299</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 32 ; Montet, *Les scènes*, 357

<sup>300</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 24

<sup>301</sup> Bárta, *South Abusir*, 156-7



The text reads:

*wpw pr m nfrt hr ht-Hr*<sup>302</sup>

“Opening .....the house of .....beautiful near Hathor”.<sup>303</sup> Or “May the house be opened in the beauty near Hathor”.

Behind him is another musician who is shown seated on the ground. He wears a short kilt, and is depicted with his own hair. Possibly, this musician is represented as a blind man. He faces the tomb owner, and plays upon an eight-stringed harp. Between the first and second musician is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*iw nḥ ndm ḥw.t.k nfr.t hr ht-Hr rḥ nb*

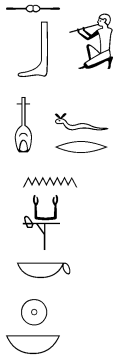
“The life is sweet. Your protection is nice in the presence of Hathor every day”

Behind him is another musician, who is shown, seated on the ground. He wears a short kilt, and is represented with his own hair. Possibly, this musician is shown as a blind man. He faces the tomb owner and plays upon a long flute,<sup>304</sup> which he holds slantwise across his body similar to the way it is played nowadays. In front of him is a vertical inscription.

<sup>302</sup> Altenmüller, ‘Zur Bedeutung der Harfenlieder des Alten Reiches’, in: *SAK* 6, 1978, 2-5

<sup>303</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 25

<sup>304</sup> This kind of this flute is called a *m3t*, which is known nowadays in modern Egyptian as “El-nay”

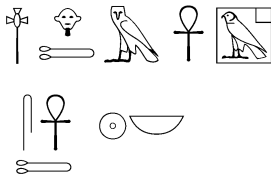


The text reads:

*sb3 nfr n k3.k r<sup>c</sup>-nb*

“Beautiful playing of the flute for your *ka* everyday”

Behind him is another man, who is seated on the ground. He wears a broad, blue necklace descending halfway down his body with a long, streamer-like appendage behind;<sup>305</sup> a short kilt; and is shown with his original hair. He faces the tomb owner. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

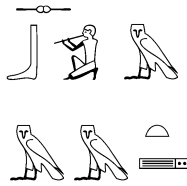
*nd hr.t m r<sup>c</sup>nh ht-Hr s<sup>c</sup>nh.t r<sup>c</sup>-nb*

“Greeting for you by the life, Hathor, you are keeping a live everyday”.

Behind him is another musician who is shown seated on the ground. He wears a short kilt, and is depicted with his own hair. Possibly, this musician is represented as a blind man. He faces the tomb owner and plays upon a double flute,<sup>306</sup> which he holds slantwise across his body. In front of him is a vertical inscription.

<sup>305</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 25

<sup>306</sup> This kind of this flute is called *mmt*, while the modern Egyptian name is “Al Arghoul”, see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 32

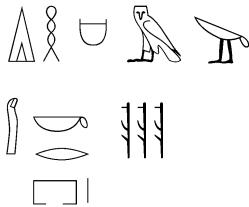


The text reads:

*sb3 m mm.t*

“Playing with the double flute”

Behind this scene is a scene of a board game called “senet”<sup>307</sup> or “draughts”. It depicts the tomb owner and his son (?) seated on the ground. They wear their own hair and short kilts. Each one puts forth his hand to move a piece. The board is placed between them on a rectangular table and on it are arranged eleven pawns, one set being higher than the other in order to distinguish them. The bodies of the tomb owner and his son (?) are painted reddish-brown, while there are traces of blue color painted on the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Above them is their conversation written in a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

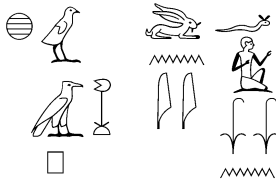
*di hm ssm db̄.k r pr ksw*

“Let indeed your finger<sup>308</sup> lead to the house of bones” (?)<sup>309</sup>

<sup>307</sup>Pusch, *Das Senet- brettspiel*, 26-32

<sup>308</sup>Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 321

<sup>309</sup>J. p. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 443



The text reads:

*f3i nn wni wh3 p[w]*

“Lift this (piece), hurry up, o fool”<sup>310</sup>

It is noteworthy that nowadays this game is still in existence in the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt, where the farmers and workmen play it in their free time. This game is called ‘el-Siga’ or ‘shatarang’<sup>311</sup> in modern Egyptian, but the pieces of this game are made of stone not bones.<sup>312</sup>

According to Harpur,<sup>313</sup> scenes depicting a board game called “senet” or “draughts” decorate Old Kingdom tombs approximately fifteen times (?).

To the right is a scene of *Mww*-dancers<sup>314</sup>. This scene depicts a ritualist in a standing pose and facing three *Mww*-dancers. He wears a long wig which reaches to his shoulders, a false beard, and a triangular kilt, while holding a large papyrus roll under his left arm; he recites it to the *Mww*-dancers. The *Mww*-dancers are depicted with their fists placed side by side on their chests, and wearing conical-shaped hats bound tightly near their top and<sup>315</sup> triangular knee length kilts. They raise their right feet a little off the ground. They perform a ceremonial dance, which looks somewhat sprightly despite its funerary character.<sup>316</sup> Above the ritualist is a vertical inscription.

<sup>310</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 68

<sup>311</sup> This word means “chess”

<sup>312</sup> *di hm s3m db3.k r k3w pr* “Let your finger leads to the house of bones”

<sup>313</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>314</sup> For a complete interpretation, see Junker, *MDAIK* 9, 1940, 1-40; Altenmüller, ‘Zur Frage der *Mww*’, in: *SAK* 2, 1975: 2-7

<sup>315</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>316</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 26





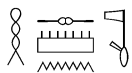


The text reads:

[*iti iri.k nti hn<sup>c</sup>.i*] ....

“[Pull, my comrade...]”

This part lies to the right of the architrave supported by a pillar, which is situated opposite it. The third and fourth blocks in this part of the masonry are missing,<sup>327</sup> but the fifth block is divided into two registers. The lower register represents two men walking to the left. They wear long wigs and loincloths, while carrying a large, rectangular wooden chest<sup>328</sup> by means of poles thrust into staples in its base. Above them is a horizontal inscription.

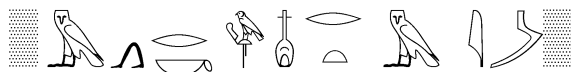


The text reads:

*hzm<sup>n</sup>*

“Natron”

Behind them are two men. The first man wears a short wig and a loin-cloth, while carrying a small, rectangular wooden chest upon his shoulder. The lower part of this man is missing. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*mi ir.k (r) imntt nfrt m im3hw*

<sup>327</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 27

<sup>328</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 50

<sup>329</sup> Hassan translated it as ‘Praising god’, but it must surely be “Clean” as in the tomb of *Gem-ni-kai*, see von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 5



“.....come (to) the beautiful west as an honoured one.....”

Behind him is another man, and only his right shoulder and head remain. In front of him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*hry-hbt*

“Lector priest”

In the upper register is another slaughtering scene, in which only two men are dismembering an ox lying supine on the ground. The scene depicts a butcher engaged in cutting off a foreleg, which his almost naked assistant holds tightly for him.

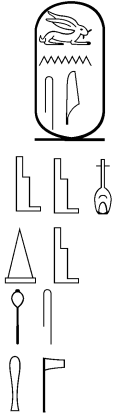
In the upper right hand corner of this block is a scene of offering tables. It depicts a group of offering tables loaded with different kinds of offerings, such as conical bread loaves, vegetables, fruits, cuts of meat, jars, head of an ox, and a large vase containing lotus flowers and birds.<sup>330</sup>

In the upper left hand corner of this slab is a rectangular gap, in which the architrave supported by the opposite pillar originally fitted. The remaining slabs in this course are missing. On the westernmost<sup>331</sup> are five vertical inscriptions.

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<sup>330</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 24

<sup>331</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 28



The text reads:

*shd hm(w)-ntr [nfr-swt- Wnis]*

“Inspector of *hm(w)-ntr* priests of the pyramid ‘the places of Unis are beautiful’”<sup>332</sup>



The text reads:

*iry-pꜣt h3ty-ꜥ imy-[iz] Nhn [z3w Nhn]*

“Hereditary prince, Count, Councillor of Nekhen (?), [protector of Nekhen]”

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<sup>332</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 932 [3438]

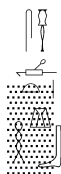


“The sole companion, [beloved of his lord].....”

## The architraves:

### The first architrave:

Situated between the second and the third pillar, the second architrave is decorated only on its west side. The scenes are partly damaged, but originally showed six figures of the tomb owner. The first image from right to left has only a vertical inscription remaining See, [Pl. VIA-B].



The text reads:

*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty[ h<sup>r</sup>y-hbt]*

“The sole companion, [Lector priest]”

The second image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a handkerchief in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*imy-r3 mrwy (?)/šwy(?) pr-<sup>c</sup>3*

“Overseer of the two weaving shops/ sheds of the Great House(?)”

The third image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a handkerchief in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-tp Nhb*

“The sole companion, ‘Chief Nekhbite’<sup>333</sup>

The fourth image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a *hrp*-baton in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*hry-hbt hry-tp zš(w) md3t-ntr...*

“Chief lector priest, Scribe of the god’s book.....”

The fifth image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a roll of papyrus in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.

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<sup>333</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 648 [2374]



The text reads:

*t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 hwt-wrt [6]*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and vizier, Overseer of the six great law-courts”<sup>334</sup>

The sixth image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a roll of papyrus in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty [hry-tp] Nhb*

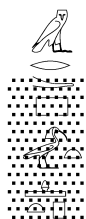
“The sole companion, ‘[Chief] Nekhbite’”

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<sup>334</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 165 [630]

### The second architrave:

The first architrave is situated between the seventh pillar and the northern wall. This architrave is decorated on its east and west sides. The scenes are partly damaged, but the original scenes showed five images of the tomb owner. The first image on the eastern side depicts only two feet and a long staff perhaps belonging to the tomb owner. In front of him is a vertical inscription See, [Pl. VII A-B].

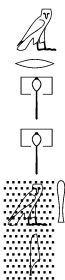


The text reads:

*imy-r3[gs-pr 3ht-Htp]*

“Overseer of [a troop-house (of workers)/work place], [Akhethotep]”<sup>335</sup>

The second image depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt, and holds a long staff in his left hand, while holding a handkerchief in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

*imy-r3 prwy-hd [Hmi].....*

“Overseer of the two treasuries,<sup>336</sup> [Hemi]” .....<sup>337</sup>

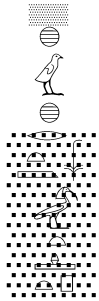
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<sup>335</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 269 [969]

<sup>336</sup> H. G. Fischer, “An Old Kingdom Monogram”, in: *ZÄS* 93, 1966, 66-7; Jones, *An Index*, 133 [524]

<sup>337</sup> Ranke, *RPN*, 240

The third image depicts the tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a handkerchief in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

[im3]hw hr [nswt 3ht-htp]

“Truly [who is] [revered with the king ... Akhethotep].....”<sup>338</sup>

The fourth image depicts the tomb owner with his left leg forward. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a long staff in his left hand, while he has a roll of papyrus in his right hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

[t3yty] z3b t3ty imy-[r3 šnwty Hmi]

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and vizier, Overseer of the [granary, Hemi]”<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Jones, *o.c* 40 [204]

<sup>339</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 253 [916]





### **The western wall of the pillared hall:**

The lower part of this wall shows three priests walking to the left. They wear short black wigs and white projecting kilts. They place their left hand on their right shoulder in the conventional gesture of respect. Each priest holds a roll of papyrus in their right hand. Below them are two superposed horizontal bands of red and yellow outlined by black stripes.<sup>340</sup>

Above this scene is a fowling scene, which is badly damaged. Only the left hand of the tomb owner is preserved. Traces of relief show his left hand raised and holding a throw-stick<sup>341</sup> in order to catch birds. Originally, the tomb owner was depicted in a striding pose, with his legs spread wide apart and his right heel lifted up in a papyrus skiff<sup>342</sup> while facing left on a wooden deck,<sup>343</sup> precariously balanced<sup>344</sup> in the papyrus skiff? The tomb owner wears a long wig, a broad collar, a kilt, a bracelet and a sport tunic fastened at the waist with a belt.<sup>345</sup> He holds the throw-stick<sup>346</sup> in his left hand.<sup>347</sup> Other examples of this scene depict only the background with the papyrus stems behind the fowling scene and not behind the tomb owner. In this scene, the tomb owner is accompanied by his wife, son and attendants. Around him are represented different kinds of birds, some depicted flying while others are in their nests in order to protect the eggs. Behind the tomb owner are offering bearers divided into two registers. The first register bears four men walking left and carrying different kinds of offerings, such as lotus flowers and birds. They are missing the lower parts of their bodies. The second register also depicts four men walking left,

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<sup>340</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 37

<sup>341</sup> This scene is similar to the fowling scene in the tomb of Idut in Unis Causeway, see, Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 19

<sup>342</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 136-7

<sup>343</sup> Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 111

<sup>344</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 19

<sup>345</sup> The tomb owner is usually depicted in spearfishing scenes wearing a long wig during the Fifth Dynasty, such as in the tomb of Nefererirtenef (see van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef*, 65-9, pl. 1). But, in the Sixth Dynasty, he is depicted wearing a curled wig, such as in the tomb of Seankhuptah (see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Neferseshemre and Seankhuptah*, 59-62)

<sup>346</sup> Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, 21

<sup>347</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 2-3

similare and wearing short wigs and loincloths. They carry different kinds of offerings, such as lotus flowers, birds, and bundles of flax tied together.

According to Harpur,<sup>348</sup> the spear-fishing and fowling scene appeared one time decorated the western wall of the second room of the tomb of Akhmerutnesut,<sup>349</sup> in the Fifth Dynasty, while appeared one time decorated the western wall of the Pillared Hall of the tomb of Nebkauhor,<sup>350</sup> in the Sixth Dynasty.

In front of this scene is an offering bearer wearing a short wig and a loin-cloth who carries three ducks in his right hand, while he has two ducks in his left hand. Above him is a horizontal inscription See, [Pl.III A-B].

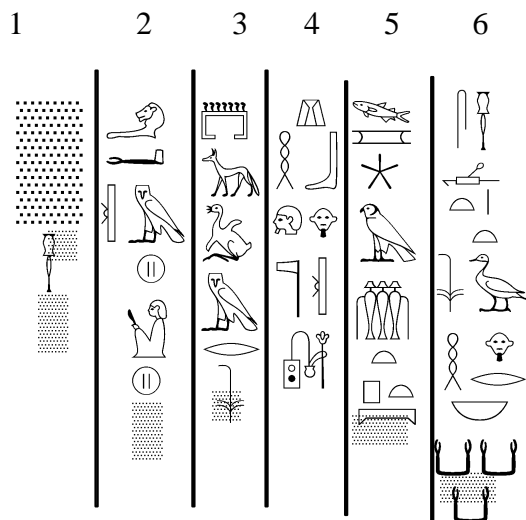


The text reads:

*iwt*

“Come”

In front of him is a vertical inscription divided into six registers.



<sup>348</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>349</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 199

<sup>350</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 37-8

1..... [s]mr.....

“.....companion”

2. *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy -[iz] Nḥn z3w Nḥn*

“Count, Councillor of Nekhen (?), Protector of Nekhen”

3. *t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 [zš ꜥ(w) nswt]*

“He of the curtain, Chief justice and vizier, Overseer of [scribes of the king’s documents]”

4. *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp zš md3t-nṯr*

“Chief lector priest, Scribe of the god’s book”

5. *ꜥd-mr Ḥr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt*

“Administrator of (the royal ‘domain’) ‘Star-of-Horus-Foremost-of-Heaven/Pupil of Horus Who Presides over [Heaven]”

6. *smr wꜥty z3 nswt Nb-k3w-Ḥr*

“The sole companion, king’s son,<sup>351</sup> Nebkauhor”

### **The biographical text:**

Unfortunately, some of these inscriptions are destroyed. The top of the columns are preserved, while the bottom part has disappeared and it is very difficult to gain a sense of what the tomb owner was saying.

This biography decorates the western wall of the pillared hall. The inscription consists of two parts: the right hand one reading from left to right, and the left hand one. The latter is a deed of mortuary endowment, and reads from right to left,<sup>352</sup> see [Pl.IV A-B]. The following translation is by N. Strudwick<sup>353</sup> with which we can in principle agree.

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<sup>351</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 799 [2911]

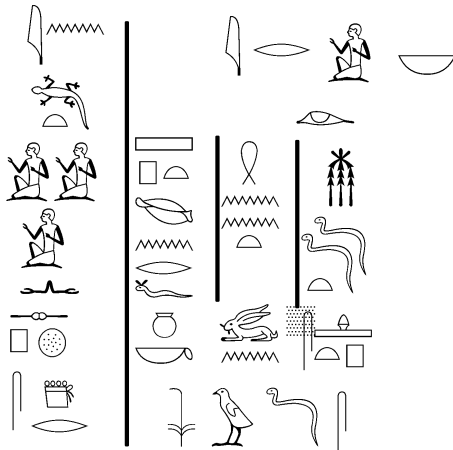
<sup>352</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 39-43; Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 81-103; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, passim

<sup>353</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 261-2, 187-8



(iri iht hft sht pn irn=i ʕnh.kwi h[r]<sup>355</sup> rdwy.i ink dd ink iri ink sh3 (w).....↓

→“Who carries out the rites in accordance with these instructions, which I have made,<sup>356</sup> while I was alive and on (my) feet:<sup>357</sup> for I am one who speaks, I am one who acts, I am one who is remembered.....”



in ʕʒ3t n zp sdr.i.... ir s nb špt.n.(i) rf iri šnnt msddt ink wn [s]htp sw ds (i)↓

→“by many people. I never spent the night.....<sup>358</sup>his majest. With regard to any man with whom I was angry, or who did something which irritated me or (did) something hateful, I it was myself who pacified him.

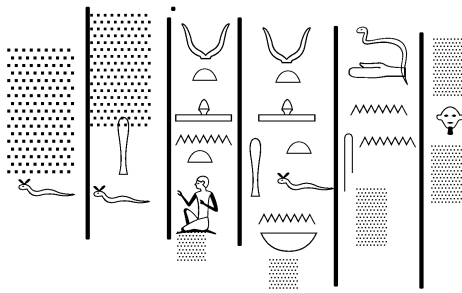
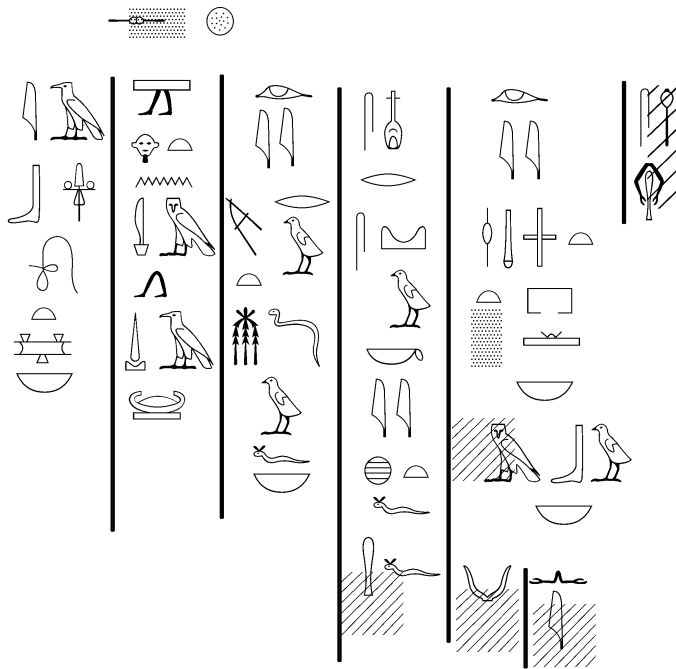
<sup>355</sup> In this sentence the scribe has made a mistake, he used *hr* instead of *hr*; there is another mistake in the position and the direction of the sign *k*

<sup>356</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 261-2

<sup>357</sup> Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 83

<sup>358</sup> According to Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 94: [quarreling with people]





*zp i3b.(i) w3t nb šm hrt nmi d3i iri mrwt msdw.f nb snfr sdw ky hft hm.f ...iri.i wdt  
 mdw imyt-pr nb [m] bw nb [wp]...iw(tt) [shd hm(w)-k3]....f...., hm.f....,wpwt nt s ....,  
 wpwt hm.f nb....., dd.n.sn....hr↓*

→“I never blocked any path, I never went above traveling by foot or by boat, I never did what any of his rivals loved, I never excused the evil of another (man) in the presence of [his majesty], I never made any commands or any will in any place except for<sup>361</sup> an [inspector of soul priests] ....., his majesty,.....mandate of a man, mandate of his majesty the lord (of).....”.

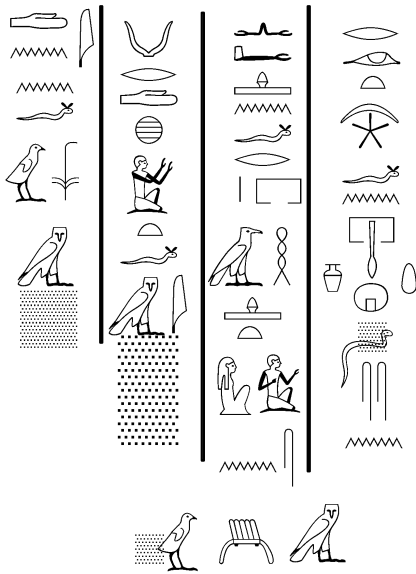
<sup>361</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 262





*iri.f wdt-mdw .....iri s3 n hm(w)-k3.... nts(n) prt-hrw....mi hrw.sn n(t).....mi wnt sn  
iri.sn imyt-pr n.....↓*

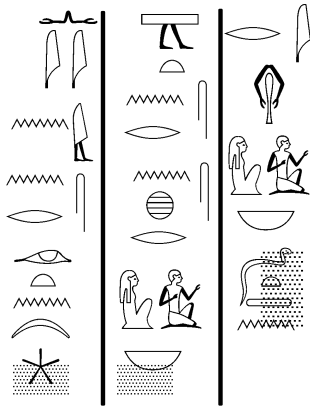
→“He has made an order .....(*Understand*, “for a will” or similar) With regard to the phyle of soul priests..., they should make the invocation offerings....., in respect of their requirements....., in respect of that which they do for me in accordance with.....”<sup>364</sup>



*ir iri(t) 3bd.f prt-hrw [d]s.sn n c n.f r pr.(i) 3ht.(i) rmt.sn wp r dh.t (w).f im.... m 3w(t)  
idn.n.(f) sw m.....↓*

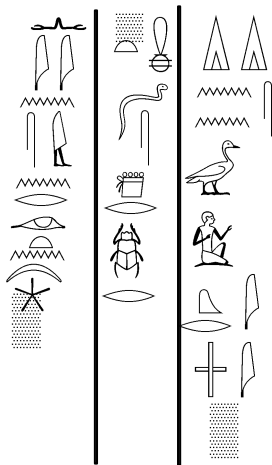
→“To carry out his monthly duties for my invocation offerings....., he has no documentary claim against my house, my fields, and their workers; rather, he should be thrown out of it.....[with regard to his son], he should not replace him in.....[making offerings (?)]”.

<sup>364</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 187



*ir hm(w)-k3 nb dt n...šmt sn r.sn hr rmt nb... ni ii.n.sn r iri(t) n.(i) 3bd↓*

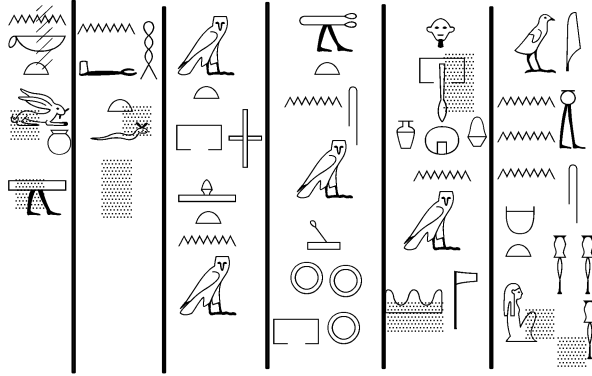
→“With regard to any soul priests of the funerary state ..., who shall go off to other people..., and who does come back to make the monthly offerings for me...”



*didi.sn n s3 ikr imi..... mit ds dr hpr... ni ii.n.sn r iri(t) n 3bd↓*

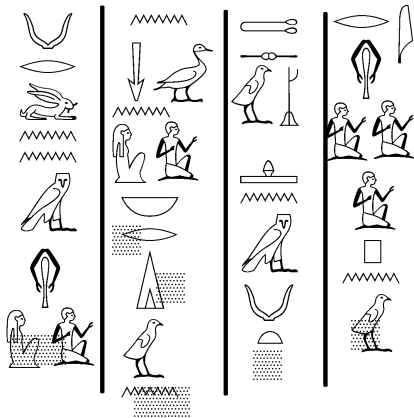
→“They shall give [that which is in his portion of income] to the excellent son...,in the manner in which I have done myself, since it has happened.....,<sup>365</sup> and who does not come back to make the monthly offerings for me.....”

<sup>365</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 188



*iw ini n.sn hmwt (mrwt)... hry prt-hrw n.(i) m hrt-ntr... itt.sn m-s3 imyt-pr tn m...hn<sup>c</sup>  
it ...n [kt wnw<sup>t</sup> šm↓*

→“They should bring [their] wives and family ..., concerning the invocation offerings which (are present) for me in the necropolis...., who shall take them for sbaw....., in the will for me in...., together with the father of....,[for another priestly duty come]....”<sup>366</sup>

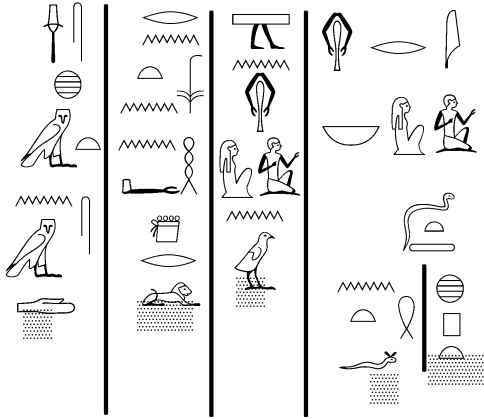


*ir hm(w) k3 pn [w] tsi .n.(i) m wpt ....n s3 sn nb rdiw.t(w) [n]<sup>367</sup> ...wp r wnn.(i)  
hm(w)-k3....↓*

<sup>366</sup> Idem

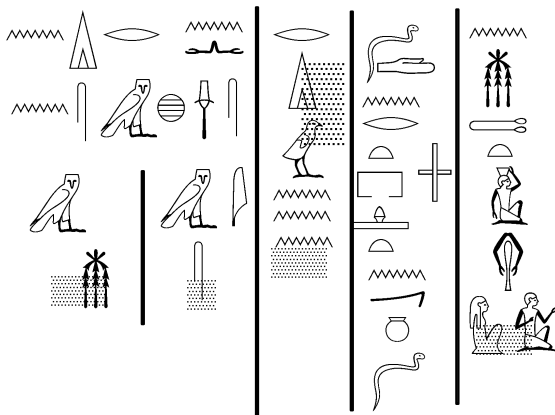
<sup>367</sup> This sentence is in prospective active, which consists of a verb + w, see J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 285-6

→“With regard to these soul priests....., levied in connection with a commission..., for any son or brother who is given for....., except for those who are soul priests.....”.



*ir hm(w) k3 nb-dt hpt.....šn.ti.fi..... šm n hm(w) k3 nw.... rn nswt hn<sup>c</sup> drw.... šhmt.sn m d.....*

→“With regard to any soul priest of my funerary estate who speaks or who proceeds [against a colleague of his]....., who comes to the soul priests of [the funerary estate (?)]... [he is proceeded against (?)]....., in the name of the king and [his share (?)] is taken away [from him (?)], they have power over....”<sup>368</sup>



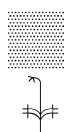
<sup>368</sup> Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 188



## The antechamber:

### The western wall:

The decoration of the western wall is badly damaged. Originally, it depicted a procession of gang of offering bearers, who are bringing offerings and facing north. The third man is leading two oxen,<sup>372</sup> while the fourth man brings another animal.<sup>373</sup> Adjacent to the scene are the remains of an image of the first tomb owner holding a long staff.<sup>374</sup> In front of him is a vertical inscription.



The text reads:

....šm<sup>c</sup>w....

“.....Upper Egypt....”<sup>375</sup>

On the right hand side of this wall is a scene of the first tomb owner in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing south. He wears a triangular kilt, and holds a long staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his left hand. The upper part of his body is missing. In front of him is a figure of his son, who is represented with a short wig. He wears a triangular kilt, and holds a staff in his right hand, while he has a handkerchief in his left hand.<sup>376</sup> In front of the tomb owner is a vertical inscription.

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<sup>372</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iyefert*, 49-50

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid*, 61

<sup>374</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 44

<sup>375</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 560

<sup>376</sup> It may be suggested that the tomb scenes belong to the first tomb owner Akhethotep, in which he was shown with his wife on the journey to Sais on the northern wall of the pillared hall, and playing the “senet” game with his son which decorated the same wall. He is depicted with his son on the western wall of the antechamber. The usurper Nebkauhor died when he was a child? He removed only the name of the first tomb owner and added his name and his titles, but he did not change the scenes of the first tomb owner.



The text reads:

... [t3]-mhw (t3)-šm<sup>c</sup>w....

“..... Lower Egypt or (Delta) and Upper Egypt”

To the left of this scene is a procession of three offering bearers, who are walking towards the tomb owner. The first offering bearer wears a short kilt, which reaches above his knees. He holds a duck in his right hand and three papyrus stems in his left hand. The upper part of his body is missing. The second offering bearer wears an unfamiliar a long wig and kilt. Perhaps he carries two vases with both hands. The third offering bearer leads an ox by a rope that he holds in his right hand, while carrying a bunch of silage (?)<sup>377</sup> In his left one. In front of him is a vertical inscription which reads:



The text reads:

“[init] rn iw3 ”

“.....[bringing] a young ox.....”<sup>378</sup>

<sup>377</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 45

<sup>378</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 30





### The northern wall:

The northern wall bears two registers. The first register depicts a scene of the procession of five men carrying wine jars with both their hands and facing right.<sup>386</sup> In front of each one is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*irp*

“Wine”<sup>387</sup>

Above them is a horizontal inscription that reads:



*shpt irp ir pr in hm(w)-k3 n pr-dt r<sup>c</sup>-nb*

“Bringing the wine to the house by the *ka* servants of the (funerary) estate,<sup>388</sup> everyday”

The second register depicts a scene of the procession of five offering bearers facing right. The first offering bearer carries a live hedgehog<sup>389</sup> inside a cage with his right hand,<sup>390</sup> while a jar of milk hangs from his left hand. The second offering bearer holds a live goose with his both hands, while a bundle of onions hangs from his right arm. The third offering bearer carries three trussed ducks in his right hand, while a jar

<sup>386</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 45

<sup>387</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 535

<sup>388</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 90

<sup>389</sup> It is noteworthy that nowadays some Egyptians in the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt eat hedgehogs because they eat an herb, and some Egyptians burn the thick coat of spines as incense to medicate certain diseases, such as fever, or to remedy against envy

<sup>390</sup> Houlihan, *The animal world*, 69-70

with a conical lid made of papyrus hangs from the crook of his left arm. The fourth offering bearer carries a bundle of flax over his right shoulder, while a bag hangs in the crook of his left arm. The fifth offering bearer carries a plate loaded with figs, which is placed upon his left shoulder and supported by his left hand.<sup>391</sup> In the crook of his left arm hang three jars tied together with his right hand. The upper register is badly damaged.

### **The doorway thickness:**

#### **Western Inner Thickness, Doorway, Murtuary Chapel:**

The western jamb bears two horizontal registers. The lower register depicts six men in the act of felling an ox. The first man holds a rope tied to one of the animal's horns.<sup>392</sup> The second man grasps the ox by its neck and left horn, and twists its neck in order to force it down onto the ground.<sup>393</sup> The third and fourth men pull the ox down by its forelegs. The fifth man grasps its tail, while the sixth man pulls hard on a rope tied to its hind legs. All six men are wearing curled wigs and loincloths. Above the ox is a horizontal inscription See, [Pl. VIII].



*shpt iw3 iht h3w*

“Bringing the young bull of the evening meal”

The upper register is badly damaged, and only traces remain of three offering bearers walking to the right and carrying different kinds of offerings. The first offering bearer is badly damaged, and only a duck is preserved in his right hand. The second offering bearer has a lotus flower and bud in his right hand, while supporting a basket between his left hand and shoulder. The third offering bearer holds a bundle of papyrus stems in his right hand and carries a basket upon his left shoulder.

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<sup>391</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 46

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>393</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Ankhhmahor*, 38-9

### Eastern Inner Thickness, Doorway, Murtuary Chapel:

The eastern jamb consists of two horizontal registers. The lower register depicts a scene with a gang of men felling an ox. Above this scene is a horizontal inscription that reads See, [Pl. IX]:



*shpt iw3 iht dw3t*

“Bringing the young bull of the morning meal”

The upper register depicts the procession of five offering bearers. The first offering bearer carries a small gazelle upon his shoulders, supporting it with his left hand, while holding a bag in his right hand. The second offering bearer carries a plate between his right shoulder and hand that has the head of an ox and a loaf of bread, while a bundle of onions hangs in the crook of his right arm and a duck in his left hand. The third offering bearer balances a covered pot on the palm of his right hand, while carrying three papyrus stems in his left hand. A bag also hangs from his left hand. The fourth offering bearer carries a large crane tucked under his left arm, holding its long bill with his right hand to stop it pecking him or his companions. The fifth offering bearer carries a duck and three papyrus stems in his right hand, while balancing a covered pot on the palm of his left hand.<sup>394</sup>

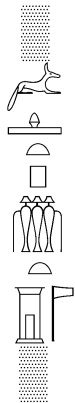
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<sup>394</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 47

## The Mortuary Chapel:

### The western wall:

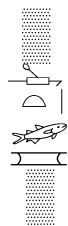
The western wall can be reconstructed with fragments of the original, large false door,<sup>395</sup> which is made of limestone. On the right hand side of one fragment is a portion of the false door panel, on which a small figure of the first tomb owner, Akhethotep, is shown seated on a chair and facing north. To his left are four vertical rows of inscriptions.



The text reads:

... [*hṯp di nsw*] *hṯp Inpw hnty zh-nṯr*....

“[An offering which the king gives] and an offering which Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth...”<sup>396</sup>



The text reads:

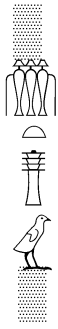
..... [*smr*] *wṣty ṣd-mr*...

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<sup>395</sup> It is noteworthy nowadays that the false door has the same function as the funeral panel in Islamic, Christian, and Hebraize religions, where it is used to record the name of the deceased, part of the Bible or the holy Qur'an, his job, and the date of the death. So it can be suggested that the main function of the false door is a memorial panel recording the name of the deceased - not used for the entering and coming out of the soul of the deceased to take in the offerings from his visitors

<sup>396</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 558

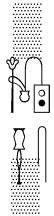
“..... sole [companion], administrator ...”



The text reads:

.....*hnty ddw*.....

“....foremost of Busiris<sup>397</sup> ...”



The text reads:

.....*zš smr [w<sup>c</sup>ty]*.....

“.....scribe of..., [sole] companion”

**The eastern wall:**

The eastern wall consists of two registers of a slaughtering scene. The first register depicts four groups of butchers. The first group shows the dismemberment of an ox.<sup>398</sup> The second group depicts a butcher skinning an ox, while his companions cut off the left leg. Above them is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

<sup>397</sup> K. A. Daoud, *Corpus of inscriptions*, 37

<sup>398</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, 34

*zft n i3w in sšmti*

“Slaughtering the ibex<sup>399</sup> by the butcher”<sup>400</sup>



The text reads:

*f3g sšmti n pr-dt*

“The butcher of the endowment is cutting”<sup>401</sup>

In the third group, the butcher is extracting the heart from the ox, while his companion carries away a served haunch. Above them is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*di iw iw f n h3t*

“Bringing the fillet”

Behind the ox is a third butcher, who is sharpening his knife. Above him is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*[it r] k pdt ds*

“[Pull, then], sharpening the knife”<sup>402</sup>

<sup>399</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 577

<sup>400</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 979 [3612]

<sup>401</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 47

<sup>402</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 40

The fourth group depicts the butcher and his assistant dismembering an ox. There is a dialog between the two men.



The text reads:

*ndr.k wrt*

“Hold fast,<sup>403</sup> the portion of meat”<sup>404</sup>

On the right end of this register are two men carrying a joint of beef. In the register are four groups of figures. The first group depicts the dismemberment of an ox by a butcher and his assistant. Above them is a horizontal inscription.<sup>405</sup>



The text reads:

*iti tw r.k n [ti] hn<sup>c</sup>.[i]*

“Carry off you, my comrade”

A third butcher is slitting open the carcass.<sup>406</sup>

In the second group, a man is shown pulling strongly upon a rope attached to the bound hind legs of an ox; while, a second man, who bends over the beast with a knife in hand, admonishes him.<sup>407</sup>



The text reads:

*ndr r mnḥ ntj hn<sup>c</sup>.[i]*

<sup>403</sup> Faulkner, *A Consice Dictionary*, 145

<sup>404</sup> Faulkner, *o.c* 64

<sup>405</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 47

<sup>406</sup> Hassan, *o.c* 47

<sup>407</sup> Hassan, *o.c* 47



“Hold fast, properly, my companion”

There is another man sharpening his knife. The third group is involved in the extraction (?) of an ox; while, the fourth group is similar with the addition of men, who are facing to the left and carrying joints of meat.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh courses are missing, while part of the eighth course is preserved on its southernmost end.<sup>408</sup> Upon it is depicted different kinds of food and drink offerings, and it is surrounded by a frieze of “*hkrw*” ornaments.

### The southern wall:

The southern wall consists of a scene of the procession of offering bearers, who are walking to the west. The first two figures originally were shown carrying a haunch, but is now lost. They are followed by five offering bearers, each of whom is sacrificing a goose by wringing its neck. In front of them is recorded their titles.



The text reads:

*shd hm(w)-k3*

“Inspector of *ka* servants”

While in front of the seventh offering bearer is a horizontal inscription that reads:



The text reads:

*imy-ht hm(w)-k3*

“Under-supervisor of *k3*-servants”<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 48

<sup>409</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 292 [1067]

The eighth offering bearer holds a goose with both hands, while the ninth one carries a bundle of papyrus stems in his right hand and large plate upon his left shoulder that is supported by his left hand. The tenth offering bearer is badly damaged, and only traces of a plate of figs and pumpkin remains on his left shoulder, while a lotus flower and two buds hung from his left arm. In front of the eighth, ninth, and tenth offering bearers are recorded their titles:



The text reads:

*imy-ht hm(w)-k3*

“Under-supervisor of *k3*-servants”

The eleventh offering bearer carries a goose. The twelfth one is badly damaged, and only traces of a plate containing two conical bread loaves remain.

At the end of the third, fourth, and fifth courses, there originally was a life-size image of the tomb owner seated upon a chair and facing east. In front of him is an offering table<sup>410</sup> with bread loaves. To the left of the offering table are two offering bearers walking to the west. The first offering bearer carries a haunch upon his left shoulder, supporting it with his left hand. The second offering bearer holds a bundle of papyrus stalk in his right hand, while a bundle of onions hangs from his right hand. On his left shoulder, he carries a plate loaded with three conical bread loaves, a lettuce, and two pumpkins, while supporting it with his left hand. From his left arm hangs a lotus flower and two buds. Above the offering bearers is a horizontal inscription.



The text reads:

*.....prt-ḥrw n.f m wpt-rnpt Dḥwty tpy rnpt w3gi...*

<sup>410</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 51

“.....may an invocation offering comes forth for him at the opening of the year feast<sup>411</sup> of [Thoth], the first of the year feast,<sup>412</sup> at the Wag-feast<sup>413</sup>....”

Above this was another offering list, but it is now badly damaged. To the left of the offering list is a figure of a man facing west. The lower part of this figure is destroyed. A second figure holds a roll of papyrus. In front of them is a horizontal inscription that reads:



The text reads:

*hry-hbt*

“Lector priest”

The upper part of this wall is decorated with piled offerings of food and drink, which are surmounted by a broad band of “*hkrw*” ornaments.<sup>414</sup>

### **The northern wall:**

The lower register is incomplete, but bears traces of a procession scene of offering bearers facing west. The first three offering bearers are badly damaged, and only their heads and part of the left shoulder of the third one remain. They are followed by four offering bearers, who are sacrificing geese. They grasp the heads of the birds with their right hands and their wings with the left one. The fifth offering bearer is missing. In front of the sixth offering bearer is a horizontal inscription, which records his title.



The text reads:

*shd hm(w)-k3*

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<sup>411</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Hesi*, 45

<sup>412</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 52

<sup>413</sup> A. Spalinger, ‘The private feast lists of Ancient Egypt’, *ÄA* 57, 1996, 110

<sup>414</sup> Hassan, *o.c* 52

“Inspector of *ka* servants”

In front of the seventh offering bearer is recorded his title.



The text reads:

*imy-ht hm(w)-k3*

“Under-supervisor of *k3*-servants”

The eighth offering bearer is completely destroyed. A part of the ninth one is preserved, however, and he carries a bundle of papyrus stems in his left hand and a plate loaded with bread loaves<sup>415</sup> upon his left shoulder. The tenth offering bearer carries a plate upon the palm of his right hand and the head of a calf in his left one, while a bunch of onions hangs from the crook of his right arm. In front of him is recorded his title.



The text reads:

*hrp zh*

“Director of the dining-hall”<sup>416</sup>

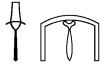
The eleventh offering bearer holds a plate with both hands, while a bunch of onions hangs from his right arm. The twelfth offering bearer carries a goose in his left arm and a plate upon the palm of his right hand, while a bag hangs from the crook of his right arm. The thirteenth offering bearer carries a gazelle in his left arm, while a cage containing a fawn hangs from the crook of right arm.<sup>417</sup> In front of him is recorded his title.

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<sup>415</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 48

<sup>416</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 736 [2682]

<sup>417</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 48



The text reads:

*hrp zh*

“Director of the dining-hall”

The fourteenth offering bearer is completely damaged, and only traces of a pair of ducks that he was carrying remain. In front of him is recorded his title.

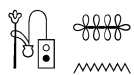


The text reads:

*hm-k3*

“*hm-k3* servant”

The eastern end of this wall bears four offering bearers. The first offering bearer is completely destroyed. The second offering bearer is badly damaged, but traces show that he carried a basket in his right arm and a gazelle in his left arm. In front of him is recorded his title.

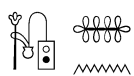


The text reads:

*zš n z3*

“Scribe of the phyle”<sup>418</sup>

The third offering bearer carries a plate between his right hand and shoulder, while three lotus flowers and two buds hang from the crook of his right arm. He carries a goose in his left arm. In front of him is recorded his title.



The text reads:

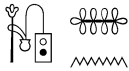
---

<sup>418</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 868 [3178]

*zš n z3*

“Scribe of the phyle”<sup>419</sup>

In front of the fourth offering bearer is recorded his title.



The text reads:

*zš n z3*

“Scribe of the phyle”

To the east of these figures are three offering bearers. The first offering bearer wears a curled wig and a short kilt that reaches above his knees. He holds a vase in his right palm, while he carries two bundles of lotus stalks tied at both ends in his right hand. A cage containing three ducks hangs from his left arm. In front of him is recorded his title.



The text reads:

*hm-k3*

“*hm-k3* servant”

The second offering bearer wears a curled wig and a short kilt that reaches above his knees. He carries a vase in his right palm, while a joint of meat hangs from the crook of his right arm. He holds a lotus flower in his left hand (?). This scene is considered one of the most interesting in this chapel, namely the one in which an offering bearer holds a lotus flower in his left hand – at least according to the description of the scene by S. Hassan.<sup>420</sup> One could, however, suggest that the

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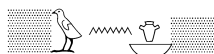
<sup>419</sup> A. M. Roth, ‘Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization’, *SAOC* 48, 1991, 100-105

<sup>420</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 49



“Bringing all beautiful annual *ndt-ḥr* offerings brought for him ....the *s3d* feast<sup>423</sup> of every month...”<sup>424</sup>

The western end of this wall depicts the first tomb owner seated upon a lion-footed chair<sup>425</sup> facing east. The scene is badly damaged, but the original scene showed him wearing a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, and bracelets. He rests his left hand upon his chest with the fist closed.<sup>426</sup> Above him is a vertical inscription that reads:



The text reads:

....*w n ib nb*...

“.....the heart of his lord...”



The text reads:

*ḥnty-pt*

“.....foremost-of-Heaven...”



The text reads:

[*z3 nswt n ḥt*].*f* [*smsw*]

“[King’s eldest] son of [his body]”



<sup>423</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 65, 1979, 176-182

<sup>424</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 30

<sup>425</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 35

<sup>426</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 49





buds hang from his left arm. The second offering bearer carries a jar in the palm of his right hand, while a bundle of onions hangs from his right arm. A plate is supported between his left hand and shoulder, as well as a bundle of lotus stalk tied together. The third offering bearer has a bundle of lotus hanging from his right arm, while he carries a plate containing three conical bread loaves between his left shoulder and hand. The fourth offering bearer is badly damaged, and only traces remain of his head and part of a bundle of papyrus stems held in his right hand.

A small gap is followed by a procession of offering bearers. This scene is badly damaged, and only traces remain of offering bearers carrying different kinds of offerings, such as fruits, vegetables, meat, birds, and loaves of bread.

Above is an offering list that is completely damaged and only traces remaining of the names of some of the offerings. But it can be understood by comparison with similar scenes in other contemporaneous tombs, such as that belonging to Unisankh<sup>431</sup> and Ihy.<sup>432</sup>

## **The doorway thickness:**

### **Eastern Inner Thickness, Doorway, Offering Room:**

The eastern jamb bears two registers. The lower and upper registers depict two scenes with wine jars conveyed on a sledge, in which three men walk to the left and drag a sledge laden with two huge wine jars by means of a rope attached to it. Above this scene is a horizontal inscription that reads:



*init irp*

“Bringing wine”<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 46-7

<sup>432</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 56-9

<sup>433</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 53

According to Harpur,<sup>434</sup> scenes with wine jars conveyed on a sledge appear three times during the Old Kingdom.<sup>435</sup>

### **Western Inner Thickness, Doorway, Offering Room:**

The western jamb is badly damaged, but the original scene depicted two registers. The lower and upper registers show scenes of wine jars conveyed on a sledge, in which three men walk to the left and drag a sledge laden with two huge wine jars by means of a rope attached to it. Above the jars is a horizontal inscription that reads:



*init irp*

“Bringing wine”

### **The offering room:**

#### **The eastern wall:**

The eastern wall consists of two registers. The lower register shows a scene of oil jars conveyed on a sledge, in which three men are walking to the left and dragging a sledge. On the sledge are two large, sealed jars. The bodies of the men are painted brick red, while the jars are painted yellow with red bands. To the right of the sledge is another huge jar. Above it is a horizontal inscription that reads:



*hknw*

“Anointing oil”

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<sup>434</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

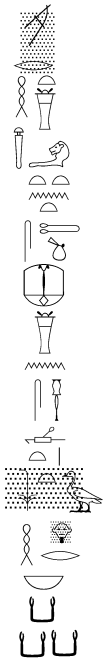
<sup>435</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 53; Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, 60-4; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, 50-1

According to Harpur, <sup>436</sup>scenes with oil jars conveyed on a sledge appear nine times during the Old Kingdom. <sup>437</sup>

The upper register depicts three jars, a chest containing a broad necklace, and a fourth jar. There are the remains of sub-registers: the lower register depicts the upper part of five jars, while the upper register shows a jar and chest containing two necklaces. <sup>438</sup>

**The northern wall:**

The northern wall is decorated with a scene of the tomb owner in a striding pose with his left leg forward, and facing east. He wears a long wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, a pair of bracelets, and a triangular kilt. He holds a handkerchief in his right hand and a long staff (painted yellow) in his left hand. In front of him is a vertical inscription that reads:



..... [mr]ht tpy ḥ3tt nt stī-ḥb n smr w<sup>c</sup>ty [z3 nswt] Nb k3w Hr

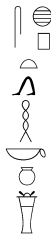
<sup>436</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>437</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, 13-14; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 26, 53; Hassan, *Ny-ankh-Pepy*, 107; Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, 60-4- 138; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, 50-1; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Merytet*, 40-3; The mastaba of Kairer, unpublished tomb

<sup>438</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 53

“... ointment and anointing oil of prime quality for the sole [companion], [king’s son], Nebkauhor”<sup>439</sup>

In this inscription, the evidence of usurpation is very evident, because the name of Nebkauhor and his title are written in red ink in preparation for carving them later. In front of this inscription are four registers. The first register depicts a procession of seven men walking to the left. The first three men carry a roll of linen in each hand. Behind them are two men carrying a wooden chest, each one holds an end of the pole with both hands. The last two men carrying a jar of ointment with both hands. In front of each one is a vertical inscription that reads:



*shpt hknw*

“Bringing anointing oil”



*in shd hm(w)-k3*

“By the inspector of the *hm(w)-k3* servants”

The second register bears three men dragging a sledge. Upon it are three huge jars, enclosed in a framework of wooden beams.<sup>440</sup> The first jar is painted blue. The

<sup>439</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 54

<sup>440</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 54

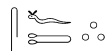
second one is painted black, while the third one is painted yellow. The sledge is painted red. Above this scene is an inscription that reads:



*st3 mrht* .....<sup>441</sup>

“Dragging oil.....”<sup>442</sup>

Behind them is another group of three men dragging a sledge. Upon it are three oil jars. The second jar is painted blue, while the third one is painted yellow. Above them is an inscription.



The text reads:

*sft*

“Cedar oil”<sup>443</sup>

The men in this scene are depicted facing to the left, except the third one who turns his head back in order to look at the jars placed upon the sledge.

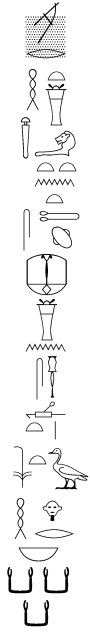
The third group depicts two men facing left, and bearing a wooden chest. Behind them are four oil jars. To the right are two men carrying a wooden chest containing a necklace.

The fourth group is badly damaged, and only traces of two huge jars painted yellow and blue remain. To the right of this scene is an image of the tomb owner represented in a striding pose, and facing west. He wears a triangular kilt, and holds a long staff (painted yellow) in his right hand; while, a handkerchief is in his left hand. The upper part of his body is missing. In front of him is a vertical inscription that reads:

<sup>441</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 255

<sup>442</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 65, 1979, 176-182

<sup>443</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 37



The text reads:

..... [mr]ht tpy h3tt nt stī-ḥb n smr w<sup>c</sup>ty z3 nswt Nb k3w Ḥr

“... Ointment and anointing oil of festival fragrance<sup>444</sup> for the sole companion, king’s son, Nebkauhor”

In this inscription, the evidence of usurpation is very clear, because the name of Nebkauhor and his title are written in red ink in preparation for carving them later.

**The western wall:**

The western wall bears five registers in low relief. The lower register depicts a procession of three men walking to the left. The first two men carry a yellow, wooden chest, while the third one has a jar of wine in both hands. In front of him is an inscription that reads:



*init irp*

“Bringing wine”

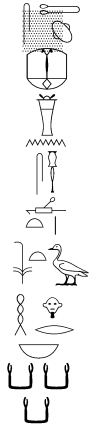
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<sup>444</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 36

The western end is badly damaged, and only traces of part of a yellow, wooden chest containing a necklace remain, as well as the lower parts of two jars. In the third register are two jars and a chest containing a necklace, which is painted red and yellow. The fourth register contains seven oil jars. The lower part of the fifth register depicts two rectangular chests with an oil jar between them.<sup>445</sup>

### The southern wall:

The southern wall is decorated with a scene of the tomb owner, who is shown in a striding pose, with his left leg forward and facing east. He wears a triangular kilt and holds a long staff (painted yellow). The tomb owner in this scene is missing, and only the upper part of his body and part of his left leg remain. In front of him is a vertical inscription that reads:



The text reads:

..... [*mrḥt tpy ḥ3tt nt stī-ḥb*] *n smr w<sup>c</sup>ty z3 nswt Nb k3w Ḥr*

“... [ointment and anointing oil of festival fragrance]<sup>446</sup> for the sole companion, king’s son, Nebkauhor”<sup>447</sup>

To the east right of the tomb owner is a procession scene of seven men walking to the west left. The first three men hold a roll of linen in their hands, while the fourth and fifth carry a wooden chest. The sixth and seventh men carry a small, wooden chest upon their shoulders. At the western end of the second register are two

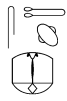
<sup>445</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 55

<sup>446</sup> Onderka, *Unisankh*, 36

<sup>447</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 55



men facing to the west, and dragging a sledge loaded with two huge oil jars (painted blue and yellow). Above the jars is an inscription.



The text reads:

*sti-hb*

“Festival fragrance”

Behind this scene is a similar group. Above these jars is an inscription that reads:



*hknw*

“Anointing oil”

### **The burial chamber:**

The descending passage leads to the large burial chamber entirely cut in the bed rock. It is divided into two parts, the eastern part measuring 8.60 x 3.30 m, while the western part, where the sarcophagus originally stood, measures 3.85 x 2.45 m. The extant height of the burial chamber being 2.95 m, the floor of the burial chamber is unpaved, while the walls covered with a layer of plaster, most of which has scaled off.

The burial chamber contains a fine, white limestone sarcophagus. On the inner, eastern side near the northern end is a horizontal inscription in two rows. (See [Fig. 44]<sup>448</sup>)



The text reads:

*smr w'ty hry-hbt*

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<sup>448</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 57



## Chapter IV: The list of fragments

Catalogue No. 1

Fragment of relief

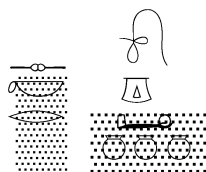
Limestone

H: 43 cm; W: 30 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

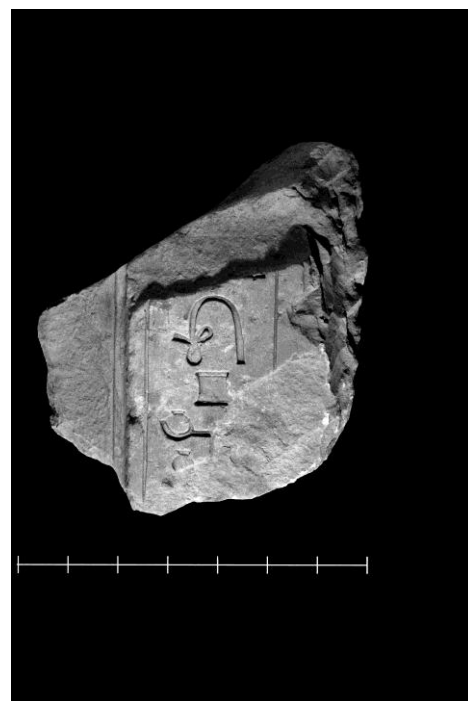
This is part of the right jamb of the false door. The fragment bears the remains of a vertical inscription in sunken relief that reads:



.....w3gi.....Zkr

“The [Wag feast]...Sokar...”<sup>450</sup>

The text is part of a *hṭp-di-nsw*-formula.



<sup>450</sup> A. Spalinger, *The private feast lists of Ancient Egypt*, 110

Catalogue No. 2

Fragment of relief

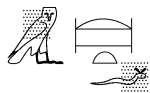
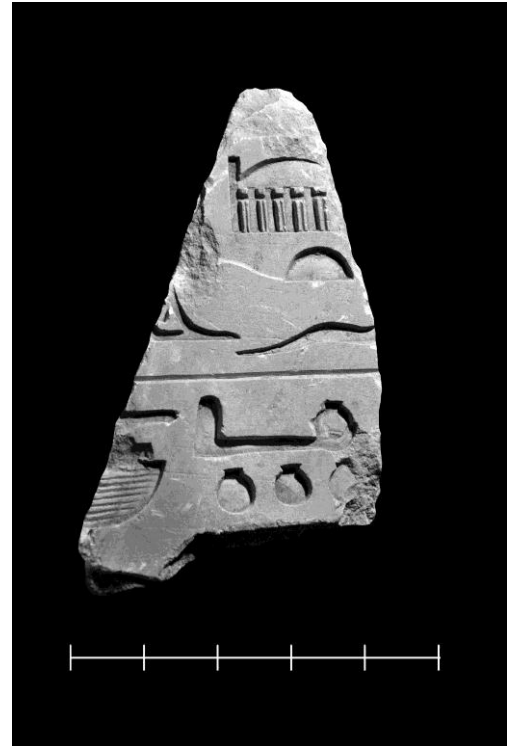
Limestone

H: 33 cm; W: 22 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

This is part of the lintel of the false door with the  
remains of two lines of horizontal inscriptions in sunken  
relief that reads:



.....*qrs.ti.f m* [*hrt ntr m zmit imntt ...*]

“...he will be buried in [the western necropolis...]”



.....*w3gi Zk[r ..]*

“..... the Wag-feast, [at the Thoth feast and at] the Sokar feast”<sup>451</sup>

<sup>451</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, 77

Catalogue No. 3

Fragment of relief

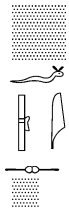
Limestone

H: 33 cm; W: 35 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

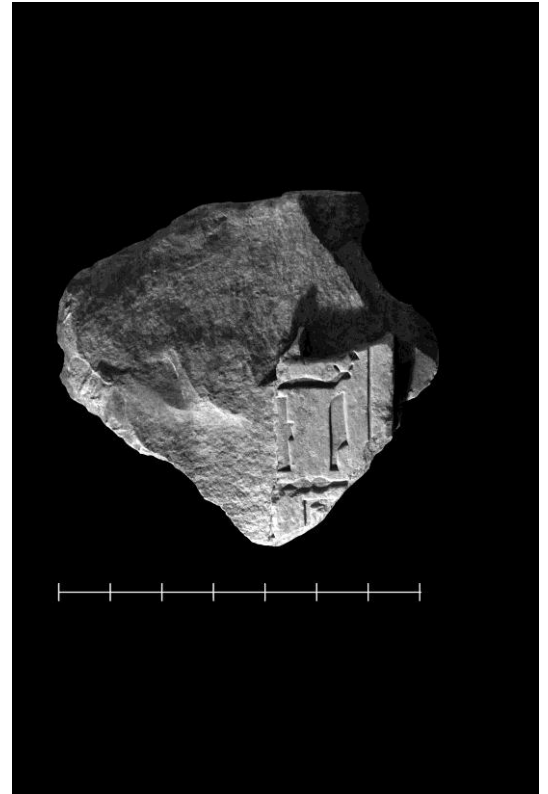
Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

This is part of the left jamb of the false door with the remains of a vertical inscription in sunken relief that reads:



.....f.....is (iz) .....

“ ...f. ?.....tomb chamber...”



Catalogue No. 4

Fragment of relief

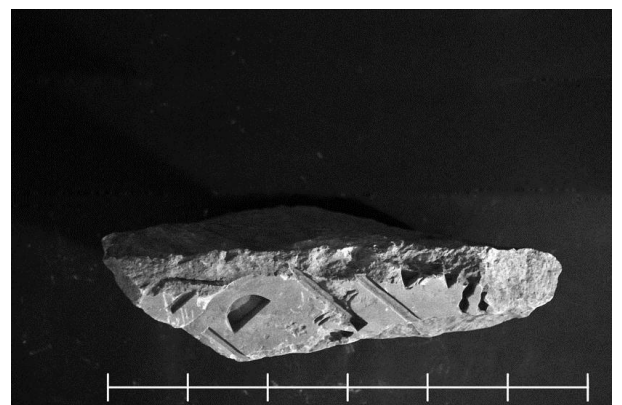
Limestone

H: 8 cm; W: 30 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

This is part of the left jamb of the false door with the remains of a vertical inscription in sunken relief that reads:





.....*nswt* .....

“.....king...”

Catalogue No. 5

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 11 cm; W: 12 cm

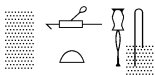
Discovered by Selim Hassan in  
1937-38

in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)



This is part of the lintel of the false door with the remains of a horizontal inscription in sunken relief that reads:



*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*.....

“Sole companion...”<sup>452</sup>

<sup>452</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 892 [3268]

Catalogue No. 6

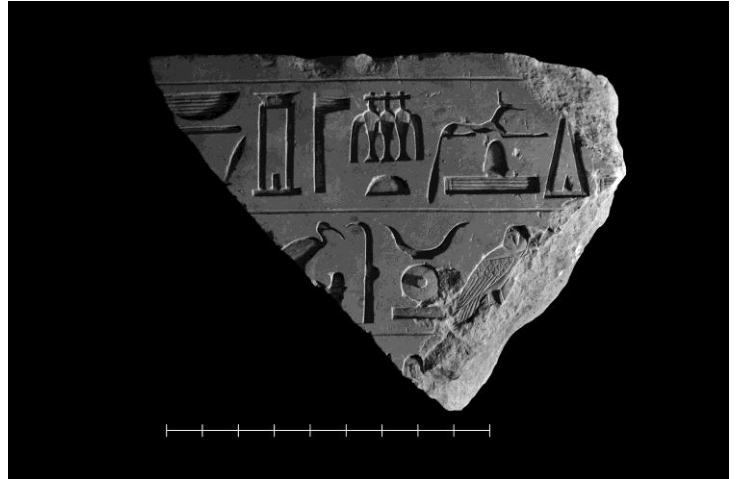
Fragment of relief

Limestone

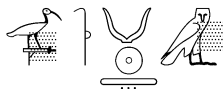
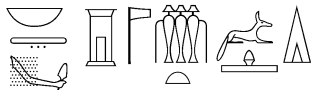
H: 50 cm; W: 55 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This is part of the lintel of the false door with the remains of two lines of horizontal inscriptions in sunken relief that read:



... [h<sub>1</sub>tp di nsw] h<sub>1</sub>tp...di Inpw hnty zh-n<sub>1</sub>tr nb t3 dsr...  
.....m wpt rnpt, D<sub>1</sub>hwty [w3gi tpy rnpt].....

“An offering which Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth, lord of the [sacred] land”<sup>453</sup>

“... In the opening of the year feast, the [Thoth] feast, [Wag-feast]”<sup>454</sup>

<sup>453</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, 56

<sup>454</sup> R. A. Parker, ‘The Calendars of Ancient Egypt’, *SAOC* 26, 1950, 888; A. Spalinger, *The private feast lists of Ancient Egypt*, 110

Catalogue No. 7

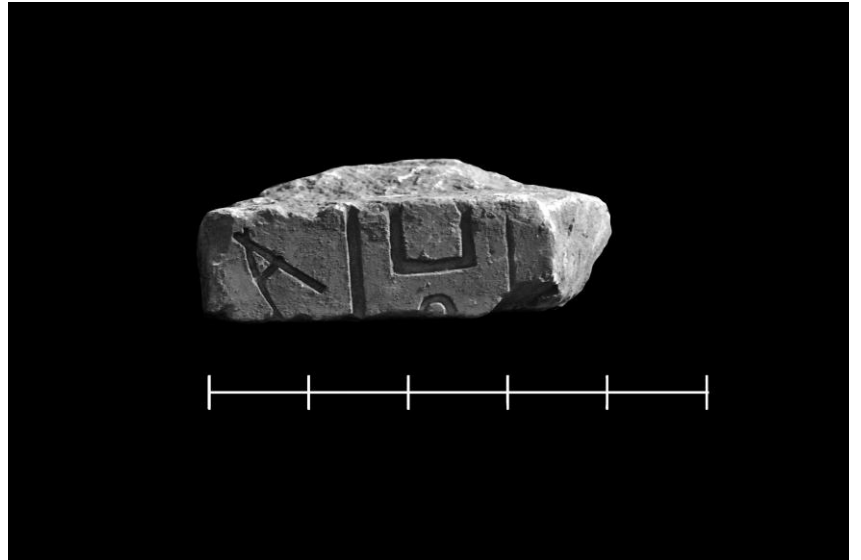
Fragment of relief

Limestone

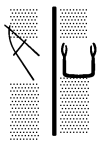
H: 7 cm; W: 20 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in  
1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)



This fragment is badly damaged, and only traces of hieroglyphic text remain.  
One may suggest that this is a part of the false door:



.....mry.....k3.....

Catalogue No. 8

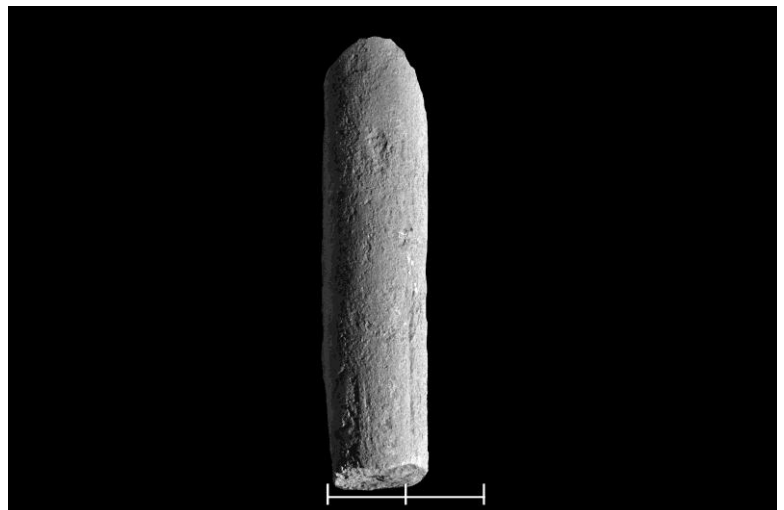
Part of the false door

Limestone

H: 21 cm; W: 5 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in  
1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)





This is part of the false door, which decorated the edge of the right and left jamb

Catalogue No. 9

Part of the false door

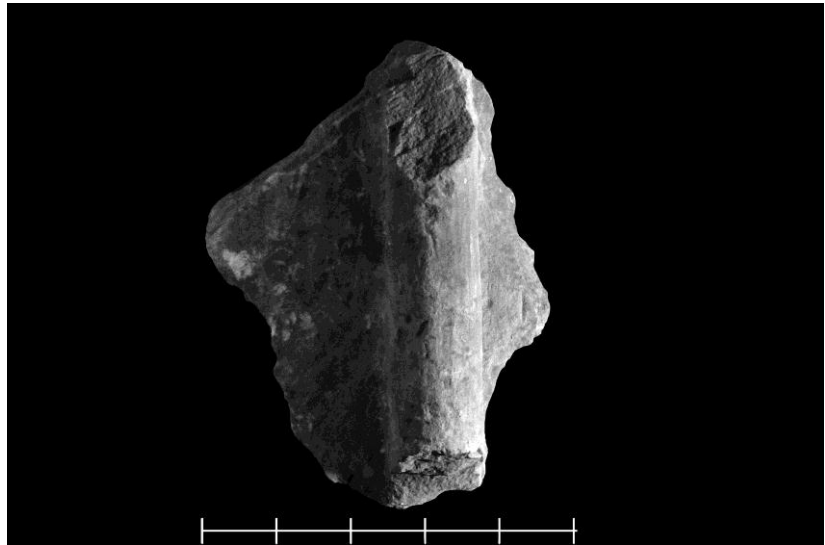
Limestone

H: 32 cm; W: 22 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No.

(17)



Catalogue No. 10

Fragment of relief

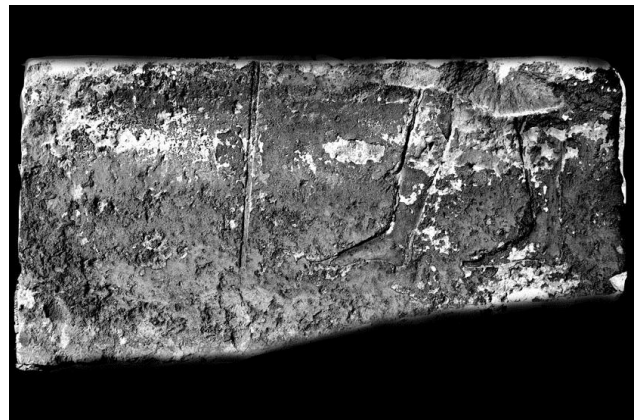
Limestone

H: 32 cm; W: 22 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No.

(17)



This is the lower part of an image of the tomb owner and his long staff. The fragment comes from the southern tomb's façade.

Catalogue No. 11

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 72 cm; W: 1.5 m

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



The fragment was found on the floor of the passage, beside the doorway to the storeroom.<sup>455</sup> It may have been used as a lintel. Two horizontal lines of an inscription in sunken relief read:



[*wr s3*] *pr šn<sup>c</sup> hry-<sup>c</sup> z3b smsw h3yt šd hm(w) k3 Bbi*

“[The great of the phyle] of the store,<sup>456</sup> assistant<sup>457</sup> of the juridical elder of the court,<sup>458</sup> inspector of *ka* servants, *Bebi*”<sup>459</sup>



....*hm k3 Imi*

“...*ka* servant, *Imi* (?)”<sup>460</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 59

<sup>456</sup> E. Edel, *Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 20

<sup>457</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 777 [2827]

<sup>458</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 813 [2974]

<sup>459</sup> Ranke, *RPN*, 95

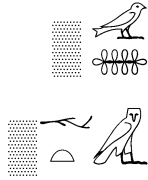
<sup>460</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 59







This fragment was found on the floor of the passage, beside the doorway of the storeroom.<sup>466</sup> It may have belonged to a lintel of the doorway. Two horizontal lines of hieroglyphic inscription in sunken relief remain:



....*wr z3*<sup>467</sup> .....

“Chief of a phyle”<sup>468</sup>

.....*imy-h*t ....

“....under-supervisor of [*k3*-servants...]”<sup>469</sup>

Catalogue No. 15

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 43 cm; W: 22 cm

Discovered by: Selim Hassan

Date of the Discovery: 1937-38.

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

This fragment is badly damaged, and only the following may be read:

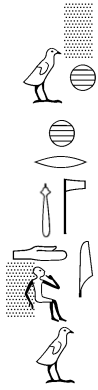


<sup>466</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 59

<sup>467</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 876 [3208]

<sup>468</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 396 [1461]

<sup>469</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 292 [1067]



*im3ḥw ḥr nṯr-ꜣ Idu*

“Revered with the great god, Idu”

Catalogue No. 16

Fragment of relief

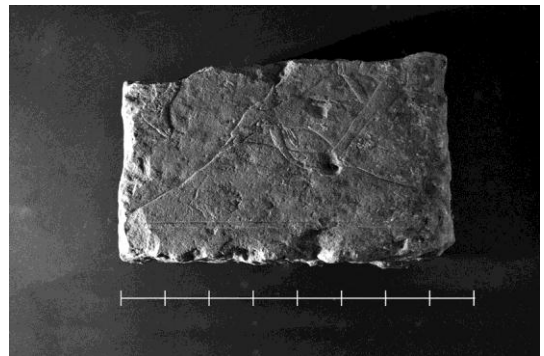
Limestone

H: 22 cm; W: 38cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No.

(17)



This fragment shows the remains of a hunting scene with a greyhound pouncing upon a gazelle in the desert in low relief.

Catalogue No. 17

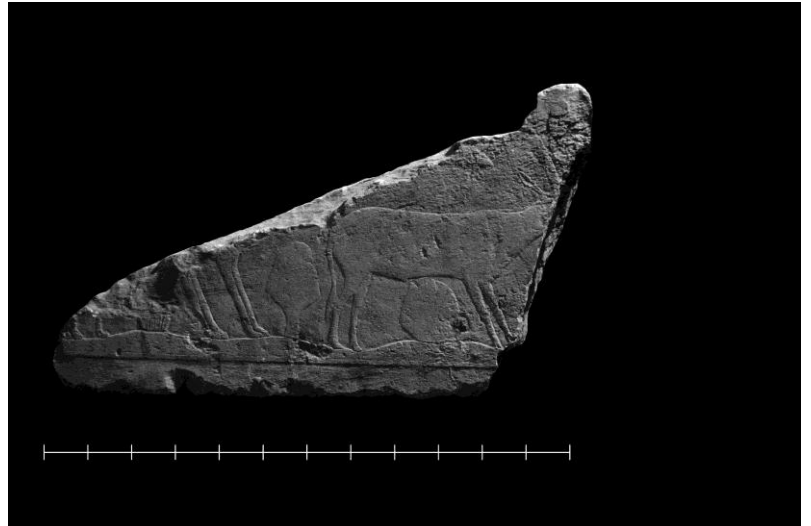
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 37 cm; W: 60 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in  
1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)



This is a fragment of a hunting scene in the desert with the remains of two gazelles. This fragment may belong to either the eastern or the western wall of the pillared hall.

Catalogue No. 18

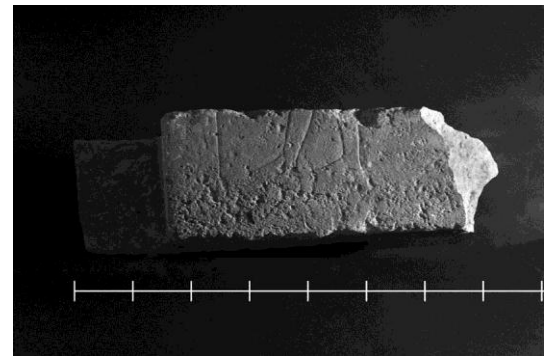
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 13 cm; W: 35 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment shows the remains of the tomb owner's two feet and the lower part of his long staff in low relief. It may come from the thickness of the doorway.



Catalogue No. 19

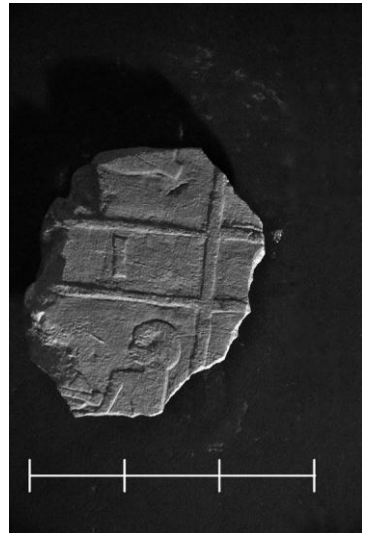
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 15 cm; W: 13 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This is a fragment of an offering list, which decorated the northern wall of the mortuary chapel.

Catalogue No. 20

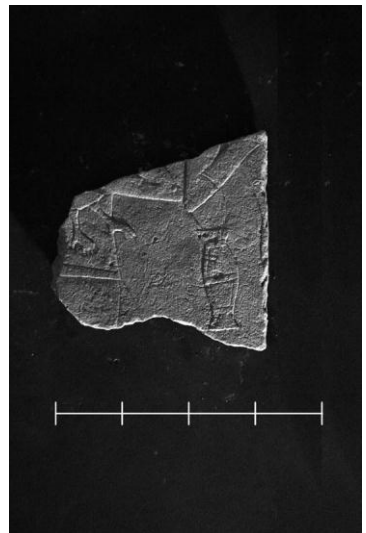
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 18 cm; W: 16 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment is a part of a scene of offering bearers in low relief. It was located on the northern wall of the mortuary chapel. Traces of relief show the remains of a figure bearing a basket followed by another figure (now missing), who is carrying a duck.

Catalogue No. 21

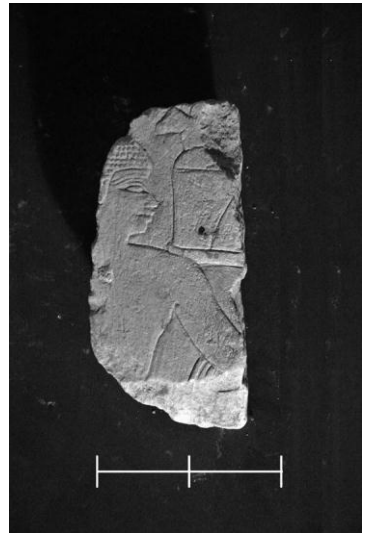
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 18 cm; W: 8 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment is part of the same scene of offering bearers in low relief.

Catalogue No. 22

Fragment of relief

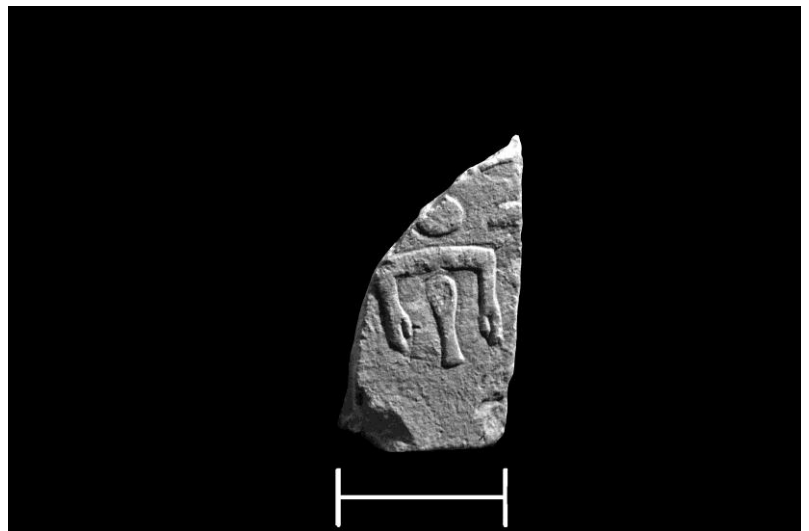
Limestone

H: 9 cm; W: 5 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

Bibliography: Unpublished



This fragment also decorated the northern wall of the mortuary chapel.



.... (*ht*) *hm k3*....

“.....*ka* servant...”.

Catalogue No. 23

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 23 cm; W: 17 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in  
1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)



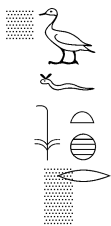
Two registers are preserved on this fragment, which originally belonged to the western wall of the antechamber. In the upper register are the remains of a female figure and an inscription that reads:



[3wt]-ib

“... [Affection]”

In the lower register, the upper part of the son of the tomb owner survives. He wears a short wig, and his title is located in front of him that reads:



...z3.f rh-nswt...

“...his son, the royal acquaintance...”<sup>470</sup>

Catalogue No. 24

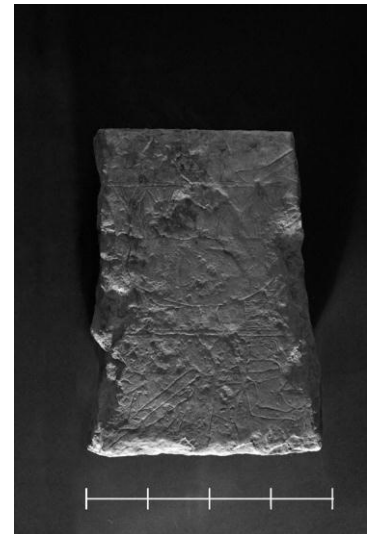
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 27 cm; W: 18 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment may belong to the northern wall of the pillared hall. There are two registers in low relief. Although the two scenes are badly damaged, the first scene originally depicted a large vase containing lotus flowers, while the second scene consisted of two men. The first man is a ritualist priest, holding a large papyrus roll under his left arm. He is shown wearing a long wig, a false beard, and a triangular kilt. The second man burns incense.

Catalogue No. 25

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 28 cm; W: 32 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38  
in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat*  
magazine, No. (17)



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<sup>470</sup> Jones, *An Index*, 327 [1206]



This fragment depicting an offering table with figs belongs to the eastern wall of the court.

Catalogue No. 28

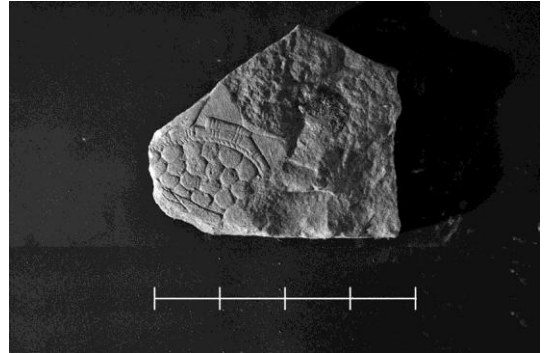
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 17 cm; W: 18 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment depicting an offering table with figs belongs to the eastern wall of the court.

Catalogue No. 29

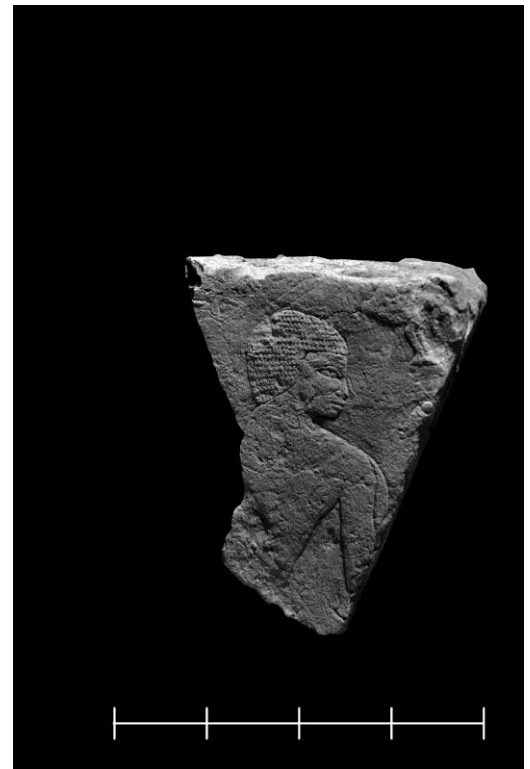
Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 20 cm; W: 15 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



Only the upper part of a man wearing a short wig can be seen on this fragment. It belongs perhaps to a butchering scene.<sup>471</sup>

Catalogue No. 30

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 40 cm; W: 7 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment consists of two registers. The upper register depicts two men grasping a rope. The lower register shows an offering scene. This fragment may have belonged to the northern wall of the pillared hall.

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<sup>471</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefertiti and Ka-Hay*, 29; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 27

Catalogue No. 31

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 30 cm; W: 10 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)

This fragment depicts a scene with a man leading an antelope. Most probably this scene originally belongs to the decoration of the eastern wall of the pillared hall?



Catalogue No. 32

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 13 cm; W: 45 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb of Nebkauhor

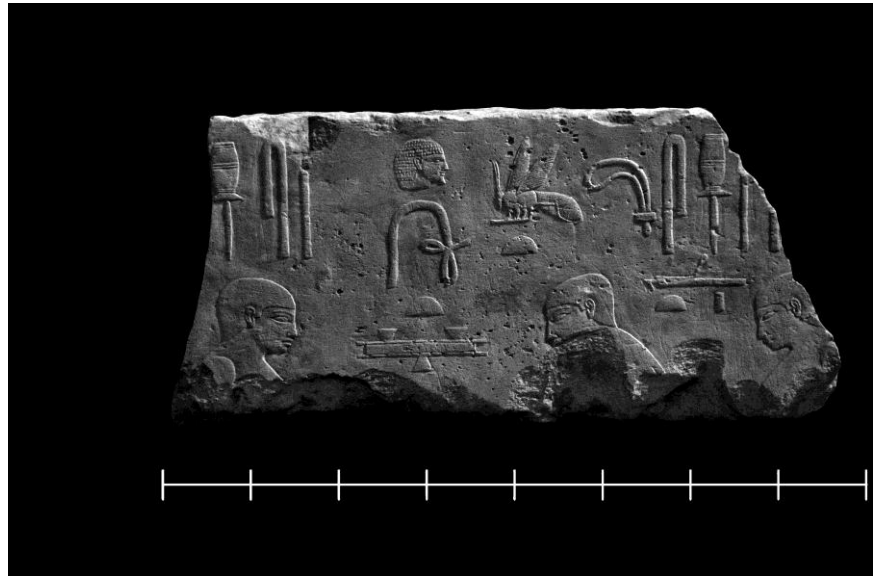
Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



This fragment depicts the horns of three antelopes and a small recumbent oryx. The scene undoubtedly showed a desert hunt, and it probably decorated the eastern wall of the pillared hall.



Catalogue No. 33  
 Fragment of relief  
 Limestone  
 H: 18 cm; W: 40 cm  
 Discovered by Selim Hassan  
 in 1937-38 in the tomb of  
 Nebkauhor  
 Current Location: *El-  
 Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



On this fragment are shown three men. This fragment might depict a scene of goldsmiths (?). It was possibly located on the eastern wall of the pillared hall. Above each man is a horizontal inscription reading (from left to right):



*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*

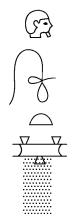
“Sole companion...”



*sd3wty bity*

“Sealer of the king of lower Egypt”

An inscription between the first and second man reads:



*tpy-w3t*

“The beginning of the path”



*smr* [w<sup>c</sup>ty].

“Sole [companion]”

Catalogue No. 34

Fragment of relief

Limestone

H: 40 cm; W: 45 cm

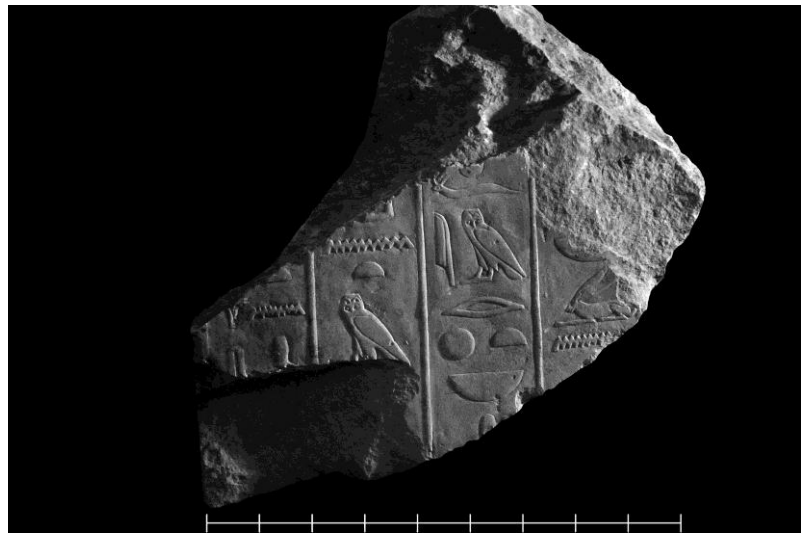
Discovered by Selim Hassan in

1937-38 in the tomb of

Nebkauhor

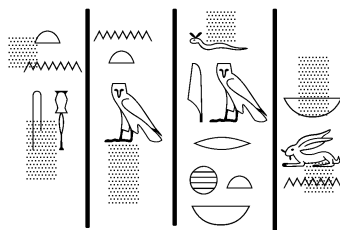
Current Location: *El-Mohemat*

magazine, No. (17)



On this fragment, there are four columns of an inscription:

- 1      2      3      4



1. ....n[zwt]....[smr].....
2. ..k3t (?) ...nt (i) m..... ?
3. ....[i]b.f r ht nb(t).....
4. ....n[b] wn.....

1- .....king .....sole companion .... (?)

2- .....which is in....

- 3- .....his heart being there in regard to every thing...?  
 4- .....was pleased more than anything .....?.....

Catalogue No. 35

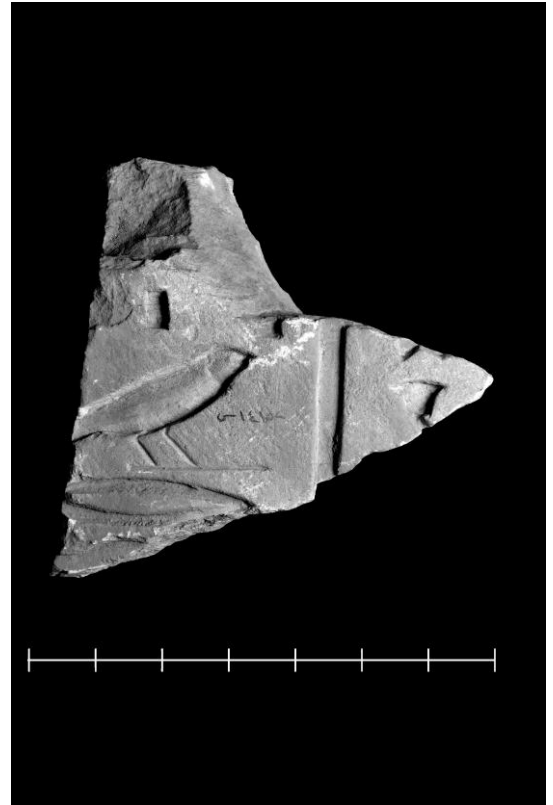
Fragment of relief

Limestone

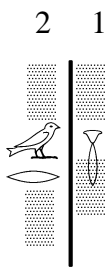
H: 40 cm; W: 45 cm

Discovered by Selim Hassan in 1937-38 in the tomb  
 of Nebkauhor

Current Location: *El-Mohemat* magazine, No. (17)



Here we can barely read:



1. .... w3d.....  
 2. .... wr.....

## **Chapter V. Nebkauhor and his time**

### **I. A brief outline of the end of the Fifth and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty**

Unfortunately, little is known about the origin of the last three kings of the Fifth Dynasty, Menkauhor, Djedkare and Unis. There is a serious question to be answered: why did the last three kings of the Fifth Dynasty leave Abusir and construct their pyramid complexes in Saqqara? The kings of the second half of the Fifth Dynasty abandoned the Abusir cemetery and constructed their tombs in Saqqara, most probably because the place was not large enough to enable them to build pyramid complexes.<sup>472</sup> Or there may have been some other reasons, political or religious, for leaving the Abusir cemetery, and the impossibility of finding a suitable place to construct their pyramid complexes in Abusir cannot in this case be given as the reason.

Regarding the history of the period relevant to Nebkauhor's tomb, it must first be explained that our information is derived from the royal monuments and the inscriptions from the high officials' tombs. I shall focus on the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty and I shall start with the most important events from the reign of Menkauhor, who was the first king to leave the Abusir cemetery and establish his cemetery in elsewhere.

#### **I. 2. 1. The reign of Menkauhor**

Menkauhor<sup>473</sup> was the successor of Neuserre.<sup>474</sup> The annals collected by Egyptian scribes recorded for us the length of the King's reign. The Turin Canon attributes eight years to Menkauhor;<sup>475</sup> Manetho gives Menkauhor [Mencheres] nine years.<sup>476</sup> Beckerath suggests that he ruled for nine years.<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>472</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 272

<sup>473</sup> H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, passim; G. Daressy, 'La Pierre de Palerme et la chronologie de l'ancien empire', *BIFAO* 12, 1916, 161-214

<sup>474</sup> Idem, 'Contemporaneous evidence for the relative chronology of Dyns.4 and 5', in: Hornung and others, (eds.), *HdO*, 139

<sup>475</sup> Gardiner, *RCT*, Pl. II

<sup>476</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 51; Vymazalová, Coppens, "König Menkauhor", in: *SOKAR* 17, 2008, 33

According to Dodson, the queen known as Meresankh IV was connected to Menkauhor.<sup>478</sup> V. Callender, however, suggests that Meresankh IV lived during the reign of Djedkare and maybe was the wife of Djedkare.<sup>479</sup> The issue cannot be decided on what we presently know.

Majority opinion inclines to the idea that Queen Nebunetbi was the wife of Menkauhor. According to V. Callender this queen lived in the late Fifth Dynasty during or after the reign of Neuserre. She has a stone mastaba at Saqqara situated to the north of Serapeum road. The similarity of her name with those of princess Nebtyreput, Khekeretnebt, Khameretnebt and queen Reputnebu suggests to that there may have been a family relationship among these royal women.<sup>480</sup>

Historical sources referring to the reign of Menkauhor are rather scarce. He sent, like his predecessor Neuserre, an expedition to the Sinai copper mines, where his rock inscription was found in Wadi Maghara.<sup>481</sup> Among the small finds, there is a small alabaster statue depicting Menkauhor wearing the ritual garment during the *sed*-festival (CG 40 = JdE 28579) that was found in Memphis.<sup>482</sup> And stone vessels bearing the Horus name of Menkauhor, Menkhau, were found in the pyramid complex of Raneferef.<sup>483</sup>

Menkauhor is also known from inscriptions coming from the private tombs of his contemporaries and funerary priests, such as the tomb of Iseiseneb and the tomb of Fetekti in South Abusir,<sup>484</sup> but we have no other information of a general historical

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<sup>477</sup> Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155; Verner, 'Contemporaneous evidence for the relative chronology of Dyns.4 and 5', in: Hornung and others, (eds.), *HdO*, 139

<sup>478</sup> Dodson, *The complete royal families*, 68

<sup>479</sup> Callender, *The wives of the Egyptian Kings*, Vol. III, 127

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid*, 116

<sup>481</sup> Gardiner and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 60, pl VII

<sup>482</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 37-38; Verner, *o.c.*; Vymazalová, Coppens, *o.c.*

<sup>483</sup> Vlčková, *Abusir XV*, 84-85

<sup>484</sup> Vymazalová, Coppens, *o.c.* 33

nature that could tell us something about this reign: only a large stone bears the king's figure, name and title.<sup>485</sup>

Recently, an inscription of Menkauhor was found in the mastaba of prince Werkaure (Pyramid No. Lepsius XXIII), the eldest son of a king, in Abusir. One of the blocks in the eastern wall of the mastaba of Werkaure bears an inscription consisting of the date, name and title of Menkauhor.<sup>486</sup> However, the name of Menkauhor in this inscription is not included in a cartouche. Therefore, it is either the name of Menkauhor when he was still a prince or, it is a personal name of a private person.<sup>487</sup>

Menkauhor was not buried at Abusir like his predecessors. He is thought to have built his pyramid complex *Ntry-iswt-Mn-k3w-Hr* "Divine are the [cult] places of Menkauhor" at Saqqara.<sup>488</sup> This structure is known as "the Headless Pyramid". In 1979, Jocelyn Berlandini<sup>489</sup> pointed out that King Menkauhor was worshiped in North Saqqara according to the written sources from the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom, and arrived at the opinion that the "Headless Pyramid" belonged to King Menkauhor. Nonetheless, this assumption has been challenged by information found at Dahshur. R. Stadelmann<sup>490</sup> has suggested that the large building north east of the Red pyramid may have been the king's tomb. R. Stadelmann supports his opinion through the inscription of the king Menkauhor in the Dahshur Decree,<sup>491</sup> and the fact that Lepsius had already thought this mound to be a Pyramid, No. XL in his numbering, and that it belonged to King Menkauhor. Nonetheless, many people think that the Headless Pyramid is the most likely place.

Maspero worked in the "Headless Pyramid" for a short time in 1881. In 1930, Firth found here in the rubble of the pit for the burial chamber fragments of an

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<sup>485</sup> Callender, *The Eye of Horus*, 80-81

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid*, 37

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid*, 38

<sup>488</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 322-324

<sup>489</sup> Berlandini, 'La pyramid «Ruinée»', in : *BSFÉ* 83, 1978, 24-43.

<sup>490</sup> Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 75 ff

<sup>491</sup> Borchardt's 'Ein Königserlaß aus Dahschur', *ZÄS* 42, 1905, 1-11

inscribed, pink granite slab and attributed it to Iti.<sup>492</sup> Lauer and Leclant examined the masonry type and other details, and concluded that this pyramid was built in the Fifth Dynasty and may have belonged to Menkauhor.<sup>493</sup> In their investigation, Maragioglio and Rinaldi dated this pyramid on the basis of some architecture features back to the time between Neferirkare and Djedkare.<sup>494</sup>

In contrast with the aforementioned authors, however, Jaromír Málek believes that the “Headless Pyramid” belonged to King Merikare, on the basis of the evidence of a fragment of an inscription on a piece of mortar found by British archaeologists near the pyramid.<sup>495</sup>

Finally, Zahi Hawass decided at the end of 2005 and the beginning of 2006 to remove the debris and clean the pyramid. After his excavation, he announced that this pyramid belonged to Menkauhor, though no written sources support his identification. The valley temple of Menkauhor’s pyramid, locally known as ‘Joseph’s prison’, has not been explored.<sup>496</sup> Thus, material relating to this king has been insufficiently investigated and needs further explanation.

Menkauhor’s sun temple (*3h.t R<sup>c</sup>*) is known from inscriptions of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties officials’ tombs.<sup>497</sup> It was the last sun temple built in the Memphite necropolis. It has not yet been archaeologically identified.

During Menkauhor’s reign, provincial governors and court officials continued to gain greater power and independence, creating thus an unstoppable movement which eventually threatened the central authority.<sup>498</sup> The effect of this gradual devolution of power is indirectly evidenced by the wealth of the Fifth Dynasty

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<sup>492</sup> Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, Pl. 21

<sup>493</sup> Verner, *o.c.* 322

<sup>494</sup> Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *Piramidi Menfite*, passim

<sup>495</sup> Málek, ‘King Merykare and his pyramid’, in: *Hommages à J. Leclant IV*, 1994, 203-214

<sup>496</sup> Hawass, ‘The Anubieion’, in: A. Woods, (eds.), *Egyptian culture and society studies in honour of Naguib Kanawati*, 2010, 182

<sup>497</sup> Kaiser, ‘Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie’, in: *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 103- 116

<sup>498</sup> Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 78

mastabas such as Pehenuikaiti's, that of the overseer of the scribes of the King's documents Netjeruser,<sup>499</sup> that of the overseer of the Scribes of King's documents Akhtihotep, the vizier Ptahhotep Desher<sup>500</sup> and others.<sup>501</sup>

Menkauhor might have been a son of Neuserre. H. Vymazalová and F. Coppens suggest that Menkauhor was a brother of Khentykauhor, and another son of the King Neuserre and Queen Reputnub.<sup>502</sup> One unanswered question which arises is why his name does not include the name of Re like those his predecessors. Most probably, the reason was the growing importance of the worshipping of the god Osiris in this time, but this solution has not been possible to verify from the evidence.

### **1.2.2. The reign of Djedkare**

Djedkare<sup>503</sup> was the successor of King Menkauhor. His throne name, Djedkare, in contrast with that of his predecessor, again includes Re. Menkauhor and Djedkare may have been brothers (sons of Neuserre) or cousins (sons of Neferefre and Neuserre),<sup>504</sup> but the precise origin of Djedkare remains unknown.

The annals recorded the length of the king's reign: the Turin Canon gives him only twenty-eight years;<sup>505</sup> Manetho attributes forty-four years to Djedkare [Tancherés].<sup>506</sup> In his study on ancient Egyptian chronology, Beckerath attributes thirty-eight years to Djedkare.<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration*, 200

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>501</sup> Bárta, *South Abusir*, 70-71; Vymazalová, Coppens, *o.c* 36

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid*, 38, see also Callender, 'Some Curious Names of Old Kingdom Women', *JEA* 97, 2012 – in press

<sup>503</sup> G. Daressy, 'La Pierre de Palerme et la chronologie de l'ancien empire', *BIFAO* 12, 1916, 161-214

<sup>504</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 324

<sup>505</sup> Gardiner, *RCT*, Pl. II; Verner, 'Contemporaneous evidence for the relative chronology of Dyns.4 and 5', in: *HdO*, 139; Grimal, *o.c* 79

<sup>506</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 51

<sup>507</sup> Verner, 'Contemporaneous evidence for the relative chronology of Dyns.4 and 5', in: *HdO*, 139; Grimal, *o.c* 79; Beckerath, *o.c* 155



Very little is known about his wife, except that Djedkare probably built for her a pyramid and a mortuary temple at the northeast corner of his pyramid complex.<sup>508</sup> V. Callender suggested that this pyramid belonged to an unknown wife of Djedkare.<sup>509</sup> Others have suggested it probably was given to Meresankh IV, who lived during the king's reign. Callender has further suggested that her pyramid might have been later usurped by one of the ephemeral kings of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>510</sup>

The Czech team discovered several tombs of important relatives of Djedkare including his daughters, his son, as well as a few of his officials at Abusir.<sup>511</sup> These people included a son, Neserkauhor, and two daughters, Khekeretnebty and Hedjetnebut. Another female relative had no name preserved, but her anthropological material showed that she was a close relation of the two women, whose bones were found. Another female relative may have been a granddaughter of Djedkare's, but this has not been easy to establish. The fine anthropological work of detecting Djedkare's relatives was done by Eugen Strouhal.<sup>512</sup>

Djedkare sent two expeditions to the Sinai mines, where his rock inscription dating from the ninth year of his reign was found in Wadi Maghara.<sup>513</sup> He also sent an expedition to the diorite quarries gabal el- Asr west of Abu-Simbel. From the tomb of Harkhuf, who was the governor of Aswan in the time of the Sixth Dynasty, we know that one of Djedkare's officials brought for him a dwarf from an expedition to Nubia and parts of Africa. The king also sent<sup>514</sup> expeditions to Byblos and Punt. It may have been during his reign that the names of his predecessors were recorded on the basalt

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<sup>508</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 329

<sup>509</sup> Callender, *The wives of the Egyptian Kings*, 126

<sup>510</sup> Callender, *In Hathor's Image The Wives and Mothers of Egyptian Kings, Dynasties I – VI*, Vol. I, 2011 (in press)

<sup>511</sup> Verner and Callender, *Djedkare's Family Cemetery*, 13-97

<sup>512</sup> Strouhal, in: Verner and Callender, *Djedkare's Family Cemetery* 119-132

<sup>513</sup> Gardiner and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 60-61

<sup>514</sup> Altenmüller, 'The Fifth Dynasty', in: D. Redford, (eds.), *OEA*, 600-1

stele which is now called the Palermo Stone.<sup>515</sup> Unlike his predecessor Menkauhor, Djedkare did not build a sun temple.<sup>516</sup>

Djedkare might have left Abusir and built his pyramid complex in South Saqqara, which became the cemetery of the Sixth Dynasty kings later, because the place was not large enough to enable him to build a pyramid complex there. Or there may have been some other reasons, political or religious, for leaving the Abusir cemetery. We also know that Djedkare did not build a sun temple, but we are unsure. Perhaps the reasons might include the fact that the cult of Osiris was rising at his time.

Djedkare's pyramid was called *Nfr Dd-k3-Rc* "Beautiful is Djedkare," but the local people call it Haram el-Shawaf.<sup>517</sup> Djedkare. The builders of this pyramid changed the standard building method. Unlike that of the pyramids of his precursors, the core was built using small pieces of limestone, and the inner structure consisted of six steps; the outer structure was cased with fine Turah limestone.<sup>518</sup>

The entrance into the underground part of the pyramid was under the north chapel. It led to the antechamber, the burial chamber and storerooms. The antechamber and the burial chamber had saddle roofs, while the storerooms had a flat roof. The inner rooms of the pyramid are undecorated. A sarcophagus of dark gray basalt stood against the west wall of the burial chamber. In front of the south-eastern corner of the sarcophagus was a small hole in the floor, which contained the alabaster canopic jars.<sup>519</sup>

J.S. Perring investigated the funerary complex of Djedkare in 1840.<sup>520</sup> Maspero examined it in 1880 during his search for the Pyramid Texts, but he did not find any

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<sup>515</sup> Weigall, *Histoire de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 47

<sup>516</sup> Kaiser, 'Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie', in: *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 103- 116

<sup>517</sup> Which means 'The sentinel'

<sup>518</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 326

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>520</sup> Vyse, *Appendix to Operations Carried on at the pyramids of Giza*, 52

texts in the pyramid.<sup>521</sup> Lepsius gave Djedkare's pyramid complex the No. XXXVII on his survey.<sup>522</sup>

The human and animal remains, which were discovered inside the pyramid, were examined by A. Batrawi.<sup>523</sup> Both in Batrawi's research and in Strouhal's examination these scientists suggested that the king died when he was fifty-sixty years.<sup>524</sup>

In 1946, Abdel Salam Mohamed Hussein and Alexander Varille started their work in Djedkare's pyramid complex.<sup>525</sup> However, most of their field records were lost after the sudden death of Abdel Salam Mohamed Hussein in the United States in 1949. Alexander Varille died shortly thereafter in France in 1951. Ahmed Fakhry resumed this excavation in October 1952, and continued until December 1952. He excavated the eastern side of the mortuary temple, and then he moved his excavation to the queen's pyramid,<sup>526</sup> and also excavated several fragments of reliefs which decorated the valley and funerary temples.<sup>527</sup>

Mahmoud Abdel Razek cleaned the northern part of Djedkare's mortuary temple in the 1980s, and found some coffins dating back to the New Kingdom and the Late Period.<sup>528</sup> Salah El-Nagar then cleaned the entrance and descending passage of the pyramid.<sup>529</sup> In 1989 P. Jánosi added some correction to the plans made by A. Fakhry and later by Rinaldi and Maragioglio; all of them ignored several architecture details and measurements.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *o.c* 64

<sup>522</sup> *LD, IV*, 198

<sup>523</sup> Batrawi, A., 'The Pyramid Studies: Anatomical Reports', *ASAE* 47, 1947, 97–109

<sup>524</sup> Strouhal and Gaballah, 'King Djedkare Isesi and his daughters', in: Davies, W.E, Walker, R. (eds.) *Biological Anthropology of the Nile Valley*, 1993, 104-118

<sup>525</sup> Fakhry, *Sneferu*, 10

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid*, 31 ; Moursi, 'Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *DD-K3-R* "ISSJ" bei Saqqara ' *ASAE* 71, 1987: 185-193

<sup>527</sup> Fakhry, *o.c* 31; Moursi, *o.c.* 188

<sup>528</sup> Leclant, '*Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan*, 67 [q]

<sup>529</sup> El-Naggar, *Les voûtes dans l'architecture de l'Égypte*, 102

<sup>530</sup> Jánosi, 'Die Pyramidenanlage der "anonymen Königin "des Djedkare- Isisi' In: *MDAIK* 45, 187-202

In 2001, the IFAO started its research on the pyramid complex of Djedkare under the supervision of Bernard Mathieu. During this research the courtyard in front of the northern side of the pyramid was cleaned and restored.<sup>531</sup>

Recently, in 2010, the Supreme Council of Antiquities decided to complete the excavation of the pyramid complex under the supervision of Mohamed Megahed. The work began on the eastern side of the queen's pyramid.<sup>532</sup> During his work Mohamed Megahed discovered several blocks with relief decoration, offering basins, tables and fragments of pottery dating to the Late Period.<sup>533</sup> Mohamed Megahed's works on the two complexes belonging to Djedkare are still continuing.

One of the high officials during the reign of Djedkare was Rashepses, the governor of Upper Egypt and overseer of the Scribes of the King's documents: his tomb contains two letters dating to the reign of the king Djedkare.<sup>534</sup> Probably the most famous nobleman of the king's reign, however, was the vizier Ptahhotep, who is traditionally considered to have been the author of the famous Instruction.<sup>535</sup> Another vizier Ptahhotep (I) lived in the later reign of Djedkare through the early reign of Unis. Other high offices during Djedkare's reign were held by Seshemnefer III (vizier and overseer of the Scribes of the King's documents), his tomb contains a text dating to *rnpt zp 5* of the reign of the king Djedkare,<sup>536</sup> Ptahhotep Desher (vizier and overseer of the Scribes of the King's documents),<sup>537</sup> the vizier Senedjemib Inti, are all prominent officials who lived during the reign of the king Djedkare. In Senedjemib's tomb, there are two letters from the king, one of which is dated to *rnpt zp 16*.<sup>538</sup> And

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<sup>531</sup> Dobrev, South Saqqara, funerary complex of Djedkare-Isesi Season 2001 (Unpublished); idem, *South Saqqara, pyramid complex of Djedkare Isesi. Season 2002* (Unpublished)

<sup>532</sup> Megahed, The pyramid Complex of "Djedkare's Queen" in South Saqqara Preliminary Report 2010, 1-17, (in press)

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>534</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration*, 200

<sup>535</sup> Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 79

<sup>536</sup> Strudwick, N., *o.c* 200

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid*, 132-3

Akhtihotep, royal chamberlain and prophet of the pyramids of Djedkare and Unis, was another official who lived during this same period.<sup>539</sup>

### **1.2.3. The reign of Unis:**

Unis ascended to the throne after<sup>540</sup> his predecessor Djedkare, <sup>541</sup> little is known about his parents.<sup>542</sup> Turin Canon gives him only thirty years.<sup>543</sup> Beckerath suggests that twenty years is a more reasonable estimate.<sup>544</sup> Manetho included his name in his history and he mentioned that Unis was the last king of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>545</sup> The annals collected by Egyptian scribes also recorded for us the fact of the King's reign. Manetho gives to Unis[Onnus] thirty-three years;<sup>546</sup>

The wives of Unis were Khenut I and Nebet I.<sup>547</sup> They were buried not in pyramids, but in mastabas northeast of the king's pyramid complex.<sup>548</sup>

King Unis sent an expedition to Elephantine to bring building materials for his pyramid complex,<sup>549</sup> as can be inferred from the decoration of the causeway of the pyramid and as confirmed by inscriptions at Elephantine<sup>550</sup> concerning the transport the granite columns from Aswan quarries.<sup>551</sup> During his reign, Egypt pursued a policy of diplomatic contact with Byblos<sup>552</sup> where a calcite vase decorated with his title and

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<sup>539</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 633

<sup>540</sup> Altenmüller, 'The Fifth Dynasty', in: D. Redford, (eds.), *OEA*, 600-1

<sup>541</sup> Gardiner, *o.c* Pl. II; Waddell, *Manetho*, 51

<sup>542</sup> Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof*, 9

<sup>543</sup> Gardiner, *o.c* Pl. II; Altenmüller, *o.c* 600

<sup>544</sup> Verner, 'Contemporaneous evidence for the relative chronology of Dyns.4 and 5', in: *HdO*, 139; Beckerath, *o.c* 155

<sup>545</sup> Waddell, *o.c*

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>547</sup> Callender, *The wives of the Egyptian Kings*, 133-4

<sup>548</sup> Munro, *Der Unas Friedhof*, *passim*; Dodson, *The complete royal families*, 64. Munro, *Der Unas Friedhof*, 9

<sup>549</sup> Maspero, *La pyramide du roi OUnis*, 177-224 ; Labrousse and Moussa, *OUnis*, 29-32

<sup>550</sup> Altenmüller, *o.c.* 600

<sup>551</sup> Maspero, *La pyramide du roi OUnis*, 177-224 ; Labrousse and Moussa, *OUnis*, 29-32

<sup>552</sup> Montet, *Byblos et L'Egypte*, 69

his throne name Wnis “the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Unis” was found.<sup>553</sup> His building activity took place at Elephantine and also at northern Saqqara, where the king established his funerary complex excavated by Lauer and Leclant.<sup>554</sup>

The pyramid complex of King Unis<sup>555</sup> was called *nfr-swt Wnis* “Beautiful are the [cult] places of Unis”. It was built to the south of the Step Pyramid complex.<sup>556</sup> It is the first pyramid of the Old Kingdom whose subterranean chambers were inscribed with the Pyramid Texts.<sup>557</sup> The mortuary temple is now largely destroyed, only fragments of religious scenes survived; *Sed* festival scenes were also included in the decorative program of the temple,<sup>558</sup> suggesting to scholars that this king had a long reign.

Lepsius gave Unis’s pyramid the No. XXXV in his archeological map of the Memphite necropolis.<sup>559</sup> The subterranean chambers remained unexamined until 1880, when Maspero began to search for the Pyramid Texts.<sup>560</sup> The first archaeological investigation of the pyramid and its surroundings was carried out in 1899 at Maspero’s request by Barsanti,<sup>561</sup> and it continued until 1901.<sup>562</sup>

Cecil Mallaby Firth continued the excavation of the pyramid temple from 1929 until 1931.<sup>563</sup> From 1936 to 1939 the temple was examined by Jean Philippe Lauer, while from 1937-1949 the work was continued by the Egyptian archaeologists Selim Hassan, Mohamed Zakaria Goniem, and Abdel Salam Mohamed Hussain.<sup>564</sup> Abdel Salam Mohamed Hussain found a pair of boat pits lined in limestone in the

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<sup>553</sup> Munro, *Der Unas Friedhof*, 11

<sup>554</sup> Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE XXXVII*, 1937, 201-211; Grimal, *o.c* 80

<sup>555</sup> Altenmüller, ‘The Fifth Dynasty’, in: D. Redford, (eds.), *OEAE*, 600

<sup>556</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 332

<sup>557</sup> Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unis*, Princeton 1968, 15

<sup>558</sup> Altenmüller, *o.c* 600

<sup>559</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 332

<sup>560</sup> Maspero, *La pyramide du roi OUnis*, 177-224; Fakhry, *The pyramids*, 181

<sup>561</sup> Barsanti, *ASAE II*, 1901, 244-57

<sup>562</sup> Verner, *o.c* 333

<sup>563</sup> Firth, *ASAE XXX*, 1930, 186

<sup>564</sup> Verner, *o.c* 333

area of Unis's causeway. In the 1970s Ahmad Moussa continued the work of his Egyptian colleagues by excavating the lower part of the causeway and the valley temple. During his excavation Ahmad Moussa found several blocks from the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep.<sup>565</sup>

Several viziers held office under Unis, such as Akhtihotep and Ptahhotep II, who were buried in Saqqara,<sup>566</sup> Sendjemib Inti, the vizier and overseer of the Scribes of King's documents, and his family was buried in Giza. Sendjemib Mehi, on his false door, relates that he was *im3hw hr* Djedkare and Unis,<sup>567</sup> the vizier and<sup>568</sup> Irukaptah, the overseer of the Scribes of King's documents and the overseer of the butchers etc.<sup>569</sup> - these men were all prominent officials of this king.

The end of the reign of Unis, however, might have witnessed some trouble with the provincial governors of Upper and Lower Egypt. These problems were successfully tackled by his successor Teti.<sup>570</sup> The Horus name of Teti is Sehetep-tawy 'He who pacifies the Two Lands'. During the reign of Unis there were no events important enough to have justified a change of dynasty.<sup>571</sup>

Teti's Horus name, Sehetep-tawy<sup>572</sup> indirectly suggests, however, that the situation in the country was not entirely stabilized.<sup>573</sup> Teti continued the entirely policy of Djedkare, where he appointed two viziers one for Upper Egypt and the other resident at Edfu.<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>565</sup> *Ibid*, 337

<sup>566</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, 8-9

<sup>567</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration*, 134

<sup>568</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 38-9; Strudwick, N., *o.c* 301

<sup>569</sup> McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, 20; Strudwick, N., *o.c* 200

<sup>570</sup> Kanawati, *o.c* 14

<sup>571</sup> Verner, 'Old Kingdom: an Overview', in: D. Redford, (ed.), *OEA*, 590

<sup>572</sup> Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 80

<sup>573</sup> Verner, *o.c* 590

<sup>574</sup> Callender, *The Eye of Horus*, 83

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The political history of the Sixth Dynasty is defined by its kings: Teti, Userkare, Pepy I, Merenre Antyemsaf, Pepy II, Merenre Antyemsaf II, and Nitokris.<sup>575</sup> The history of the Sixth Dynasty is recorded, as in the earlier period, in the form of annals, but a lot of information comes from documents – particularly stone ones, which have lasted – that were made by officials. For the annals, we have the poor remaining fragments of the Turin Canon, but we have a better record in the Abydos List of Rameses II and in the Saqqara list. One new set of annals has recently been discovered as being annals from the period of Pepy I, a stone (the so called South Saqqara Annals) that was re-used for queen Ankhnespepy's (IV) sarcophagus.<sup>576</sup>

The beginning of the Sixth Dynasty is characterized by the powerful and long-reigning rulers. Pepy I, one of Egypt's great Pharaohs, reformed the administration toward the middle of the dynasty. This change led to a decentralization of administration, which in turn started the dissolution of the state during the long reign of Pepy II. The Sixth Dynasty saw a large growth of provincial power.<sup>577</sup> This is clearly reflected in the decoration of the mastabas of provincial governors, where they used valuable materials and which they adorned with very beautiful scenes.

#### **1.2.4. The reign of Teti**<sup>578</sup>

He was the successor of Unis, and the founder of the Sixth Dynasty; Manetho gives to Teti [Othoes] a thirty years long reign.<sup>579</sup> The length of his rule in the Turin Canon has not survived. The census took place six times during his reign, which means that he probably reigned twelve or thirteen years.<sup>580</sup> However, Beckerath gives

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<sup>575</sup> Altenmüller, *o.c* 601

<sup>576</sup> Baud and Dobrev, De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une "Pierre de Palerme" pour la Vie Dynastie: in *BIFAO* 95, 1995, 23-92

<sup>577</sup> Grimal, *o.c* 80

<sup>578</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, passim; Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 71

<sup>579</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 53

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid*



him only ten years.<sup>581</sup> There is another dating that was found in the tomb of Nykau-Izezi written in red ink *rnpt 11, I 3ht sw 20*.<sup>582</sup>

Teti's mother was Seshseshet,<sup>583</sup> who was probably not of royal blood.<sup>584</sup> Her name was popular in the time of the Sixth Dynasty. The relationship between Seshseshet and Unis is unknown; while H. Altenmüller has suggested that Seshseshet was the wife of Shepsipuptah and mother of Teti and Mehu.<sup>585</sup> In 2009, Z. Hawass excavated a pyramid in the area northeast of the pyramid of her son and he assumed that this monument belonged to this queen. There was no name recorded on it.

Queen Khuit (II)<sup>586</sup> and Queen Iput (I)<sup>587</sup> were the known wives of Teti and probable daughters of Unis. Their pyramids were built in Teti's cemetery.<sup>588</sup> Another queen of Teti was Khentet, whose burial is so far unknown.<sup>589</sup> R. Stadelmann suggested that Queen Khuit might have been the favorite wife of her husband.<sup>590</sup>

Teti sent an expedition to the Hatnub quarries in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign. Two inscriptions referring to him were found here.<sup>591</sup> A decree of Teti was found in the temple of Khentyamentiu at Abydos. It has a parallel with another decree which belongs to the Fifth Dynasty king, Neferirkare.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> Beckerath, *o.c* 152

<sup>582</sup> Baud, The relative chronology of Dynasties 6 and 8, in : *Hdo* 83: 145-146

<sup>583</sup> Baud and Dobrev, *o.c* 23-92.; Stadelmann, 'König Teti und der Beginn der 6. Dynastie', in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 1, 1994, 327-335

<sup>584</sup> Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, 113-126

<sup>585</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 22-29

<sup>586</sup> Callender, *The wives of the Egyptian kings*, 143-145

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid*, 145-149

<sup>588</sup> Kanawati, *o.c* 13

<sup>589</sup> It can be suggested that she was the mother of Userkare, probably the son of Teti, since the King lists place him as the successor of Teti, see Callender, *o.c* 141-143

<sup>590</sup> Stadelmann, *o.c* 333-334

<sup>591</sup> Anthes, *Hatnub*, 16-18, 110-113; Altenmüller, *o.c* 601-602

<sup>592</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 37-40, Abb. 3.; Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 31, 41-42, 49, pl. Xvii; *Urk*, I, 207-208; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 92-93. ; Strudwick, N., *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 145-146

Teti, as had been the case with his predecessors of the Fifth Dynasty, had contacts with Byblos,<sup>593</sup> where stone vessels with his own name and also well-known private names dating from his reign were found. At the opposite end of the Egyptian world, a number of inscriptions including Teti's name were found at Tomas in Nubia.<sup>594</sup>

Manetho mentioned that King Teti was assassinated by his guards, but there are no contemporaneous sources referring to this event.<sup>595</sup> There is only indirect evidence about the punishment of some officials, including erased inscriptions on the walls of the tombs of several officials in Teti's cemetery, and in other places. There are eight such tombs: Kagemni's,<sup>596</sup> Ankhmahor's,<sup>597</sup> Khentika's,<sup>598</sup> Mereruka's, Neferseshemtah's, Neferseshemre's, Merefnebef's, and Sabu's. These tombs include erased figures regarding the names of sons and some relatives.<sup>599</sup> Kanawati believes that the theory of the assassination of Teti by his guards is to be taken seriously.<sup>600</sup>

M. Afifi<sup>601</sup> also believes that Teti was assassinated by his guards and mentions some facts supporting this theory: - a number of evictees appeared for the first time in the Teti cemetery; among them were guards, servants, viziers, an overseer of weapons and a chief physician.

The reign of the next king, Userkare, was short.<sup>602</sup> His name is not mentioned in the autobiographies of the officials, who lived during the reign of Teti and Pepy I, but there is an inscription in the tomb of Merefnebef, later erased, which may refer to

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<sup>593</sup>Weinstein, 'Lebanon', in: Redford, D. ed., *OEA*, 219.; Magee, 'Teti', in: Redford, D. ed., *OEA*, 380

<sup>594</sup>Grimal, *o.c* 81

<sup>595</sup>Waddell, *Manetho*, 53; Afifi, *o.c* 18

<sup>596</sup>Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 86-88

<sup>597</sup>*Ibid*, 51-3

<sup>598</sup>*Ibid*, 88-90

<sup>599</sup>Afifi, *o.c* 19

<sup>600</sup>Kanawati, *o.c* 184

<sup>601</sup>Afifi, *Kingship in the first half of the sixth dynasty- historical, archeological and religious study*, 16, (Unpublished PhD thesis), 20

<sup>602</sup>Baud and Dobrev, *o.c* 27-28

Userkare.<sup>603</sup> It is possible that, if there had been a conspiracy, Userkare might therefore have been involved in this conspiracy together with Teti's guards and some other officials.<sup>604</sup>

Teti's Pyramid complex is situated to the north-east of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara. The pyramid complex was called *Dd swt Tti* "Teti's [cult] places are enduring." It follows the plan of the end of the Fifth Dynasty structures, similar to that of Teti's predecessor Unis.

The King's pyramid consisted of a core of five levels of masonry encased in small locally-quarried limestone blocks. The plan of the underground part looks like those of Djedkare's and Unis's Pyramids. The entrance into the underground part of the pyramid was under the north chapel. Both ends of the corridor were covered with pink granite, but the middle barrier was closed with three granite plugging blocks.<sup>605</sup>

The antechamber and the burial chamber had a gabled roof which consists of three layers of huge limestone blocks decorated with stars imitating the sky. The sarcophagus occupied the western wall of the burial chamber, which was plundered. In the rubble of the burial chamber were found the remains of a human arm and shoulder, which probably come from the king's mummy, and also a fragment of a small alabaster tablet decorated with the names of the seven sacred oils.

The walls behind the sarcophagus were decorated with the scene of the royal palace façade. In contrast with the burial chamber of Unis, this one is lined with limestone and not alabaster. The walls of the antechamber and burial chamber are decorated with the Pyramid Texts, unlike the antechamber and the burial chamber of Djedkare, which were found, undecorated. In the floor of the south-eastern corner of the sarcophagus is a small hole which contained the canopic chest. In the east of the

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<sup>603</sup> Myśliwiec, *Saqqara I*, 247-249, pls. xlvii c, xlvii f, h

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>605</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 343

antechamber there is the serdab, as in Unis's pyramid. It has three niches and is undecorated.<sup>606</sup>

Teti's Pyramid was investigated in 1839 by Perring;<sup>607</sup> in 1842-1843 Lepsius also examined it,<sup>608</sup> while in 1882 Gaston Maspero was the first to enter it during his quest for Pyramid Texts. The inscriptions inside the pyramid were copied by the German Emile Brugsch. In 1905, Quibell<sup>609</sup> made a thorough examination of the pyramid and continued his work there until 1908.<sup>610</sup> From 1920 until 1924, Cecil Mallaby Firth uncovered a major part of the mortuary temple.<sup>611</sup> From the 1950s Jean Lauer and Leclant continued these excavations,<sup>612</sup> with Dobrev carrying on this work after his predecessors.

Several viziers held office under Teti, such as Ankhmahor, Kaigemni-Memi,<sup>613</sup> Mereruka-Meri, who lived during the reign of the king Teti and married to the eldest king's daughter Seshseshet,<sup>614</sup> Mehu,<sup>615</sup> etc. And also several overseers of the scribes of the king's documents – officials who were important in the managing of the king's affairs - held office under Teti, such as Neferseshemre,<sup>616</sup> Mereruka-Meri,<sup>617</sup> Ankhmahor,<sup>618</sup> etc.

At the beginning of the reign of Teti, according to Kanawati,<sup>619</sup> there was some trouble with the provincial governor of Upper Egypt Akhethetep/ Hemi<sup>620</sup> and

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<sup>606</sup> *Ibid*, 344

<sup>607</sup> Perring, *The pyramids of Gizeh III*, Pl. VII

<sup>608</sup> *LD, Denkmäler, Text*, I, 188-189

<sup>609</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 343-344

<sup>610</sup> Quibell, *The excavation at Saqqara*, I, 1-2

<sup>611</sup> Firth, *Excavation at Saqqara*, I, 1-3

<sup>612</sup> Lauer and Leclant, *Teti*, 9-10

<sup>613</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-k3i*, 11

<sup>614</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, 31-9

<sup>615</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 42

<sup>616</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Neferseshemre*, 12

<sup>617</sup> Duell, *o.c* 31-9

<sup>618</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, 11

<sup>619</sup> *Idem*, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14-16

the provincial governor of Lower Egypt Ihy.<sup>621</sup> Their tombs were given to the eldest king's son Nebkauhor/ Idu and the eldest king's daughter Seshsheshet/ Idut.<sup>622</sup> Teti resolved the problems, as his Horus name *Shtp-t3wy*, "he who pacifies the two lands," might suggest.<sup>623</sup>

According to Manetho,<sup>624</sup> Teti was assassinated by his guards. This gives reasons for the punishment, attested in the Teti pyramid cemetery in the tombs of some viziers, overseer of weapons and his bodyguards, where parts of their figures were erased.<sup>625</sup>

### **1.2.5. The reign of Userkare**

Userkare<sup>626</sup> is placed between Teti and Pepy I, and considered to be the second king of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>627</sup> He ruled between two to six years, which were recorded in the annals of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>628</sup> Unfortunately, nearly all traces of his reign have been erased by the person who was preparing the lid for the queen's burial. Von Beckerath gives only two years to Userkare,<sup>629</sup> and this appears to be confirmed by the South Saqqara Annals Stone.<sup>630</sup> H. Goedicke believes that Userkare reigned for a long time, about twenty or thirty-three years, but his theory is not supported by any concrete evidence.<sup>631</sup>

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<sup>620</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 6; Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14-16

<sup>621</sup> Macramallah, *Idut*, Passim; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Iynefert*, 33; Idem, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14-16

<sup>622</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>624</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 53

<sup>625</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 86-88

<sup>626</sup> Baud, 'The relatives chronology of Dynasty 6 and 8', in Hornung and others, (ed.), *Hdo*, 146

<sup>627</sup> Waddell, *o.c* 152; Baud and Dobrev, *o.c* 28

<sup>628</sup> Altenmüller, 'The Sixth Dynasty', in D. Redford, ed. *OEA*, 602

<sup>629</sup> Beckerath, *o.c* 152

<sup>630</sup> Baud and Dobrev, 'De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien', passim

<sup>631</sup> Goedicke, *Pepy II*, 117-118, 121

Some scholars suggested that Userkare was the son of Teti from a secondary wife, whose tomb has hitherto not been discovered in the Teti cemetery.<sup>632</sup> Kanawati assumes that the relationship between Userkare and Teti is not clear, but believes that Userkare did not belong to the main line of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>633</sup> For R. Stadelmann, Userkare can not be a real son of Queen Khuit (II), who seems to have been the most important wife of Teti.<sup>634</sup>

Some scholars believe that Userkare and his step brother Pepy I ascended to the throne after the death of Teti.<sup>635</sup> Userkare might have been supported by the sun priests, as his name includes the name of Re in contrast with his father's name, Teti, and his brother's, Pepy, but we have very little information about this time of change, and none of it contains any information about his family and his monuments – or about the king himself!

Userkare might have been a younger brother of Teti, and might have been involved with the king's bodyguards in the assassination plot against Teti. This could have given reasons for the punishment of the high officials of Teti. This punishment most probably happened during the reign of Pepy I, not during the reign of Userkare. This may have been the reason why the ancient Egyptian annals ignored his name - perhaps because they considered him a usurper of the throne.<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 158

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid*, 170

<sup>634</sup> Stadelmann, *o.c* 335

<sup>635</sup> Afifi, *Kingship in the first half of the sixth dynasty- historical, archeological and religious study*, 16, (Unpublished PhD thesis), 22

<sup>636</sup> Dobrev, *o.c* 60

### **1.2.6. The reign of Pepy I**

Pepy I<sup>637</sup> was the third king of Sixth Dynasty and the son of Teti and Queen Iput I.<sup>638</sup> The name of Pepy I is recorded in all lists of Egyptian kings. Manetho gives him fifty three years.<sup>639</sup> The Turin Canon recorded that Pepy I ruled for twenty years.<sup>640</sup> Beckerath gives him fifty years.<sup>641</sup>

In the beginning of his reign, Pepy I's throne name was Nefersahor, but he changed his throne name to Meryre, most probably in the tenth year of his reign.<sup>642</sup> We do not know the reason for this change.

The wives of Pepy I include a wife whose name is unknown.<sup>643</sup> She is mentioned in the autobiography of Weni.<sup>644</sup> Other wives were Inenek/Inti,<sup>645</sup> Mehaa,<sup>646</sup> Nubwenet,<sup>647</sup> Ankhesenpepy I,<sup>648</sup> Ankhesenpepy II<sup>649</sup> and Sebutet. Pepy I had at least five children: Merenre/Nemtyemsaf I, Neith, Teti-anekh and Hornetjerkhet and Pepy II.<sup>650</sup> As can be seen, two of them became kings after Pepy's death.

Pepy I continued his father's policy in the provinces. He married two daughters of the governor of Abydos Khui. He also sent expeditions to Sinai,<sup>651</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> Baud and Dobrev, *passim*; Baud, 'The relative chronology of Dynasty 6 and 8', in Hornung and others, (ed.), *Hdo*, 147-151

<sup>638</sup> Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, 127

<sup>639</sup> Waddell, *o.c* 53

<sup>640</sup> Gardiner, *RCT*, Pl. II

<sup>641</sup> Beckerath, *o.c* 152

<sup>642</sup> Idem, *Handbuch*, 62-63

<sup>643</sup> Callender, *The wives of the the Egyptian kings*, 150

<sup>644</sup> *Urk. I* 101; Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 83

<sup>645</sup> Labrousse, *Les pyramides des Reines une nouvelle Nécropole à Saqqâra*, 90

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid*, 152

<sup>648</sup> *Ibid*, 153

<sup>649</sup> *Ibid*, 160

<sup>650</sup> Dodson, *o.c* 73

<sup>651</sup> Gardiner and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 62-63

Hatnub<sup>652</sup> and Wadi Hammamat.<sup>653</sup> Weni mentioned that Pepy I sent him with an army to southern Nubia and earlier, he'd sent him to southern Palestine on five occasions to punish the sand dwellers.<sup>654</sup> The king also sent an expedition to Punt.<sup>655</sup> Pepy also erected buildings in the provincial areas, to make it clear to people that the king was aware of the provinces. He issued a decree for the establishment of a chapel of his mother Iput I in the great temple of the god Min at Qift (the decree is now kept in the Egyptian Museum, JE 41890).<sup>656</sup> In 1939-1944, L. Habachi excavated the temple of Pepy I in Tell Basta to the west of the great temple of Bastet.<sup>657</sup> Some inscriptions dating back to the Ptolemaic period refer to Pepy I as the first builder of the temple of Dendera. He also rebuilt the temple of Abydos,<sup>658</sup> and left some remains in the temples at Qift, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine.<sup>659</sup> Granite door jambs of the king that were excavated at Bubastis may come from his *ka*- house in Tell Basta.<sup>660</sup>

Pepy I built his pyramid complex called *Mn-nfr-Ppy*, "Pepy's splendour is enduring," in South Saqqara. His pyramid was built according to the architectural traditions of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>661</sup> The pyramid was cased with fine Turah limestone.<sup>662</sup> The core of the pyramid consisted of six levels of masonry encased in small locally-quarried limestone blocks; many builders' inscriptions were found on the limestone masonry of the core.

The underground plan of the pyramid is the same as in the earlier pyramids from the end of Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. The antechamber and the burial chamber had a gabled roof made of limestone. The sarcophagus – today badly damaged - lay parallel to the western wall of the burial

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<sup>652</sup> Anthes, *o.c* 19, 109

<sup>653</sup> *Urk. I*, 96-97; Breasted, *AR I*, 136

<sup>654</sup> Lichtheim, *o.c* 18-23; *Urk II*, 98-109

<sup>655</sup> Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 134-135

<sup>656</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 41-54; *PM V*, 126; *Urk. I*, 214

<sup>657</sup> Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 11- 43

<sup>658</sup> Petrie, *Abydos II* pl. 47, 20

<sup>659</sup> Leclant, *Pepy*, 33; Altenmüller, *o.c* 603

<sup>660</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, 6

<sup>661</sup> Leclant, *Recherches dans la Pyramide et au temple haut du Pharaon Pepy Ier, a Saqqarah*, 3

<sup>662</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 352-253



chamber. Pyramid Texts, painted in blue, cover the walls of the burial chamber, the antechamber and the access corridor.<sup>663</sup>

Pepy's pyramid has had many investigations. In 1830, Perring started his research of the pyramid. In 1881, Gaston Maspero was the first one who entered the pyramid in his quest for Pyramid Texts.<sup>664</sup> Ever since 1950, the French mission in Saqqara has been continuing Maspero's work and has been investigating the pyramid,<sup>665</sup> publishing those texts, and carefully repositioning the fallen and broken pieces, putting them back into the once-destroyed pyramid so that, once again, Pepy's texts can be read.

The administration during the reign of Pepy I was similar to the times of Teti. He had two viziers, one of whom was resident in Memphis, the other was resident in Abydos, and also he appointed a female vizier named Nebet in Abydos, which was an unusual occurrence.<sup>666</sup>

Several viziers held office under Pepy I, such as Mehu,<sup>667</sup> Inumin,<sup>668</sup> Meryfnefer,<sup>669</sup> etc. Also several overseers of the scribes of the king's documents held office under Pepy I, such as Mehu,<sup>670</sup> Meryteti,<sup>671</sup> Khentika-Ikhekhi,<sup>672</sup> etc. They have left substantial tombs which have been investigated over the years. Some of them contain biographical information about their owners; this helps us to understand the history of the Sixth Dynasty.

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<sup>663</sup> *Ibid*, 354

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid*, 352

<sup>665</sup> Leclant, *Recherches dans la Pyramide et au temple haut du Pharaon Pepy Ier, a Saqqarah*, 3-7

<sup>666</sup> Callender, *The Eye of Horus*, 85

<sup>667</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, passim

<sup>668</sup> Kanawati, *The tomb of Inumin*, passim

<sup>669</sup> Myśliwiec, *o.c* 247-249, pls. xlvii c, xlvii f, h

<sup>670</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, passim

<sup>671</sup> Kanawati, *Meryteti*, passim

<sup>672</sup> James, *Khentika called Ikhekhi*, passim

### **1.2.7 The reign of Merenre**

Merenre<sup>673</sup> was the fourth king of Sixth Dynasty and the son of Pepy I and Queen AnkhesenPepy I.<sup>674</sup> He had one child that we know about, Ankhesenpepy III, who married the king Pepy II.

The biographical inscription of the overseer of Upper Egypt, Weni, gives us more information about the conspiracy of the harem, which was against Pepy I, and also about his expedition to Aswan to bring the construction material of Merenre's pyramid.<sup>675</sup> Merenre also sent several missions to the south by Harkhuf and his father.<sup>676</sup> It seems that there were problems in these southern lands for much of Merenre's reign and Weni talks about a large army that Harkhuf came across in his travels, but we do not know why this army was going to war.

Merenre died after a very short reign – though its length is not precisely known – perhaps seven years.<sup>677</sup> While Beckerath gives him six years.<sup>678</sup>

### **1.2.8. The reign of Pepy II**

Pepy II<sup>679</sup> was the younger brother of Merenre I, and the son of Pepy I and Queen Ankhesenpepy II.<sup>680</sup> He ascended to the throne as a young child, where he began to reign at the age of six.<sup>681</sup> According to Manetho he reigned for ninety-four years.<sup>682</sup> Beckerath attributes to him sixty years.<sup>683</sup> Goedicke, too, gives him a shorter reign.<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>673</sup> Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 74

<sup>674</sup> Baud, 'The relative chronology of Dynasty 6 and 8', in Hornung and others, (ed.), *Hdo*, 151-2

<sup>675</sup> Sethe, *Urk. II*, 98-109; Callender, *The Eye of Horus*, 85

<sup>676</sup> *Ibid*, 86

<sup>677</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 53

<sup>678</sup> Baud, 'The relative chronology of Dynasty 6 and 8', in Hornung and others, (ed.), *Hdo*, 151-2; Beckerath, *o.c* 152

<sup>679</sup> Baud, 'The relative chronology of Dynasty 6 and 8', in Hornung and others, (ed.), *Hdo*, 152-5;

<sup>680</sup> Roth, *o.c* 138

<sup>681</sup> Goedicke 'The Death of Pepy II - Neferkare-', in: *SAK* 15, 1988, 111-121

<sup>682</sup> Waddell, *o.c* 54

<sup>683</sup> Beckerath, *o.c* 152

<sup>684</sup> Goedicke 'The Death of Pepy II - Neferkare-', in: *SAK* 15, 1988, 111-121

The wives of the king Pepy II were also numerous; among them were: Ankhesenpepy III, Meretites II and perhaps Nedjefet,<sup>685</sup> Neith, Iput II,<sup>686</sup> Udjebten,<sup>687</sup> and Ankhenespepy IV<sup>688</sup>

Pepy II had at least four children: Nebkauhor,<sup>689</sup> Ptahshepses,<sup>690</sup> Nemtyemsaf II,<sup>691</sup> and Neferkare II.<sup>692</sup>

Pepy II sent several expeditions to Sinai,<sup>693</sup> the Eastern Desert, Hatnub,<sup>694</sup> and, in the beginning of his reign, also to Nubia. Pepynakht,<sup>695</sup> called Hekaib, recorded on the walls of his tomb in Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan that Pepy II ordered him to lead several expeditions: to Nubia and one to the Red Sea and to Punt.<sup>696</sup> Anankhet and some of his soldiers had been killed by the Bedouins, so Pepynakht, led a campaign against the Bedouins.<sup>697</sup>

Pepy II built his pyramid complex in South Saqqara, to the south of the pyramid complex of Merenre, Djedkare and very close to the complex of Shepseskaf.<sup>698</sup> His pyramid complex was called *Mn-ḥ-ḥ-Ppy* ‘Pepy’s life is enduring’. His pyramid’s plan was inspired by the general plan of Sixth Dynasty pyramids. The superstructure of the pyramid consists of five steps of masonry encased in small locally-quarried limestone blocks. The outer casing was made of fine Turah

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<sup>685</sup> Dobrev and Leclant, ‘Nedjefet. Une nouvelle reine identifiée à Saqqara-Sud’, in : *BIFAO* 97, 1997, 149-156

<sup>686</sup> Callender, *The wives of the Egyptian kings*, 170

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid*, 173

<sup>688</sup> Altenmüller, *o.c* 604

<sup>689</sup> Hassan, *Neb-kaw-Her*, 1; Strudwick, N., “Notes on the mastaba of *ḥt-ḥtp:Ḥmi* and *Nb-k3w-Ḥr: Idu* at Saqqara”, *GM* 56, 1982, 89-94; Baud, *Famille royale*, 488; Schmitz, *o.c* 36.

<sup>690</sup> Dodson, *o.c* 78

<sup>691</sup> *Ibid*, 77

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid*, 73

<sup>693</sup> Gardiner and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 64-65

<sup>694</sup> Anthes, *o.c* 19, 109-110

<sup>695</sup> *Urk. I* 133

<sup>696</sup> Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 88-89

<sup>697</sup> *Urk. I* 133; Callender, *The eye of Horus*, 88

<sup>698</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 425-431

limestone. A wide and thick band of fine Turah limestone was added to the base of the pyramid; M. Lehner believes that this band was put there at the time of the celebration of the king's jubilee.<sup>699</sup>

Unfortunately, the pyramid temple has been very badly destroyed, although the French MAFS team has carried out a lot of repairs. Several blocks were found from the entrance chapel on the north side of the pyramid; those reliefs, reconstructed by G. Jéquier, show scenes of slaughtering and offering bearers.<sup>700</sup>

The antechamber<sup>701</sup> and the burial chamber have a gabled roof and were decorated with white stars. Pyramid Texts cover the walls of the antechamber, the burial chamber and the horizontal passage leading to the antechamber.<sup>702</sup> The sarcophagus<sup>703</sup> was made of greywacke and decorated with the King's name and titles; a granite chest for the canopic jars was sunk into the floor of the burial chamber at the south-east corner of the sarcophagus, several fragments of alabaster and diorite vessels.<sup>704</sup>

In 1881, Gaston Maspero, followed Perring's lead and entered the pyramid in his search for the Pyramid Texts.<sup>705</sup> Between 1926 and 1932, Gustav Jéquier was the first to make its systematic investigation.<sup>706</sup> His publication is in three volumes.

Several viziers held office under Pepy II, such as Nebkauhor,<sup>707</sup> who was the eldest king's son, Khenu,<sup>708</sup> and Ihy-khenet,<sup>709</sup> whose name is recorded in the funerary

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<sup>699</sup> Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 161

<sup>700</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II I*, 2-5, fig. 1-4

<sup>701</sup> *Ibid*, 9-10

<sup>702</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 362-363

<sup>703</sup> Jéquier, *o.c* 10-13

<sup>704</sup> Verner, *o.c* 364

<sup>705</sup> Maspero, *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, 329

<sup>706</sup> Jéquier, *o.c* passim

<sup>707</sup> Hassan, *Neb-kaw-Her*, 1

<sup>708</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 45, 54, 57

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid*

temple of Pepy II,<sup>710</sup> etc., but the most important was the king's uncle, the vizier Djau. Also known are several overseers of scribes of the king's documents, such as Ankh-Pepy,<sup>711</sup> and also Djau,<sup>712</sup> the king's uncle, and his younger brother, Idi,<sup>713</sup> etc.

There is increasing evidence during his reign about the decentralization of control away from Memphis. Local governors built their big decorated tombs in the provinces at Edfu, Qus, Adydos, Akhmim and Elephantine. This had a disastrous effect on the power of the king: the wealth that the king bestowed on his nobles raised their status and decreased his own power. At the same time, the heavy demands of Egypt's foreign interests further accelerated the political collapse in the end of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.<sup>714</sup> The length reign of the king Pepy II, the low level of the Nile flood and the economic crisis, all of them marked the decline of the Old Kingdom.

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<sup>710</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, 54-57

<sup>711</sup> Blackman, *The rock tombs of Meir*, passim

<sup>712</sup> *Urk. I*, 279.18, 280.15

<sup>713</sup> Fischer, *AJA* 66, 1962, 65-9

<sup>714</sup> Grimal, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, 89

## II. Notes on the life of Akhethotep [Hemi] and Nebkauhor [Idu]

### Akhethotep [Hemi]

The vizier Akhethotep, the original owner of Nebkauhor's tomb, lived at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and at the beginning of the Sixth. Most likely, he was born during the reign of Djedkare, and his career started during the reign of Unis continuing into the reign of Teti. He held several titles including: "Hereditary prince, count, overseer of scribes of the king's documents, chief justice and vizier, and inspector of priests of the pyramid of Unis"

Little is known about his family, except for two preserved scenes. The first scene depicts Akhethotep with his son on the western wall of the antechamber; unfortunately, the name of his son is missing. The second scene, which is located on the western, inner entrance doorway, depicts the dragging of two life-size, standing statues of Akhethotep. Nothing more remains of the depiction, aside from the figure of Akhethotep's son behind his father's statue. Most probably, Akhethotep started building his tomb as vizier at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, and embellished it at the beginning of the Sixth; only the figures and names of the first tomb owner were chiseled out and replaced by those of the new tomb owner, Nebkauhor.

There is a serious question to be answered: why did the vizier Akhethotep lose his tomb? According to Kanawati, the early death of Prince Nebkauhor and the concurrent haste in building a suitable tomb for him convinced the vizier Akhethotep to give up his tomb for the burial of the prince. But in this case, the king would have most certainly rewarded the vizier, and would have enabled him to build a better tomb—perhaps even closer to him in his cemetery. But nothing is known about this vizier from any other monument.<sup>715</sup>

It is much likelier that Akhethotep lost his tomb as a punishment for a crime he committed, and his tomb was then reused by Prince Nebkauhor. It would be reasonable to assume that the punishment was ordered, or at least accepted, by the

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<sup>715</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 15

king. The evidence showing the erasure of the name of the first tomb owner Akhethotep suggests that something very serious must have occurred at the end of Unis's reign and at the beginning of Teti's reign; for which the vizier Akhethotep, the highest administrative authority, was severely punished and lost his tomb, perhaps even his life.<sup>716</sup>

The opinion that Akhethotep lost his tomb as punishment for a crime he committed, and that his tomb was then reused by Prince Nebkauhor, appears probable and can be accepted.

### **Nebkauhor [Idu]**

Prince Nebkauhor was the "eldest king's son". Strudwick believes that Nebkauhor was most probably the eldest son of Pepy II.<sup>717</sup> Also, Dodson assumes that Nebkauhor was possibly a son of Pepy II, and was buried near the causeway of Unis in a tomb dated to the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>718</sup>

However, Kanawati suggests that Nebkauhor was the son of Teti who died young, before Teti started building his own cemetery, and was accordingly given the tomb of Akhethotep.<sup>719</sup> He also believes that Nebkauhor and Seshseshet have similar, beautiful names, mainly Idu and Idut, and were both buried in tombs originally prepared for others. Kanawati also assumes that Idu and Idut were brother and sister and that they were probably the children or grandchildren of Teti,<sup>720</sup> and held the titles of "king's son" and "king's daughter".

The contemporaneous tomb of Ihy (reused by Idut/Seshseshet) is located south of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid of Djoser, and dates to the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Ihy was the vizier at the end of Unis's reign. He lost his tomb after it had

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<sup>716</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>717</sup> Strudwick, N., "Notes on the mastaba of *3ht-htp; Hmi* and *Nb-k3w-Hr; Idu* at Saqqara", in: *GM* 56, 1982, 89-94

<sup>718</sup> Dodson, *The complete royal families*, 77

<sup>719</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid*

been finished and decorated, as is clearly attested by the fact that the figures and the name of the first tomb owner were chiseled out and replaced by that of the new owner, the royal daughter Idut, who held the title of the “eldest king’s daughter”.<sup>721</sup>

### III. The dating of the tomb of Akhethotep [Hemi] reused by Nebkauhor [Idu]:

Hassan believed that the tomb of Nebkauhor dated from the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>722</sup> The *Topographical Bibliography* dates the tomb to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth.<sup>723</sup> According to Baer, the tomb complex’s chapel with a court and pillared hall dates to the early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>724</sup> Schmitz, in her study of the title of *s3-nswt*,<sup>725</sup> arrived at the same dating as Baer.

Strudwick suggests that this tomb is to be dated to the time of Pepy II, on the basis of his study of the titles of the tomb owner. He found that the shape of the sign *šnwt* in the title *imy-r3 šnwtj*, which was held by Nebkauhor, is different from the shape of the sign *šnwt* in the same title held by Akhethotep. The shape of this sign in the title held by Nebkauhor appears for the first time in the middle of the reign of Pepy II and at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.<sup>726</sup>

Also Baud presumes that the tomb of Nebkauhor dates to the Sixth Dynasty, to the reign of Pepy II, which is also in agreement with the opinion of Strudwick.<sup>727</sup> Finally, Dodson concludes that the tomb of Nebkauhor dates to the reign of King Pepy II, but he does not give any arguments for his dating.<sup>728</sup>

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<sup>721</sup> Kanawati, *o.c* 14

<sup>722</sup> Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, 2

<sup>723</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 627-9

<sup>724</sup> K. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53, 89

<sup>725</sup> Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum title s3- nswt* 36

<sup>726</sup> Strudwick, N., “Notes on the mastaba of *3ht-htp; Hmi* and *Nb-k3w-Hr; Tdu* at Saqqara”, in: *GM* 56, 1982, 89-94

<sup>727</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* II, 488

<sup>728</sup> Dodson, *The complete royal families*, 73, 77



According to Harpur, the tomb of Nebkauhor dates to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth. She was dating the tomb according to her knowledge of the artistic themes and ways of creating the shapes for each period.<sup>729</sup> As previously mentioned, Kanawati dates this tomb to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, most probably to the reign of King Teti,<sup>730</sup> he suggests that Nebkauhor was the son of Teti who died young, before Teti started building his own cemetery, and was accordingly given the tomb of Akhethotep.<sup>731</sup> He also believes that Nebkauhor and Seshseshet have similar, beautiful names, mainly Idu and Idut, and were both buried in tombs originally prepared for others. Kanawati also assumes that Idu and Idut were brother and sister and that they were probably the children or grandchildren of Teti,<sup>732</sup> and held the titles of “king’s son” and “king’s daughter”.

In my study of the inscriptions from Nebkauhor’s tomb and the architecture of the monument, I came to the conclusion that the tomb of Nebkauhor dates to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth. Most likely, Akhethotep started building this tomb at the end of Unis’s reign and decorated it during the reign of Teti; and, most probably, he left it during the reign of Pepy I. The death of Prince Nebkauhor was an unexpected event, which happened before Pepy II started building his own cemetery. Therefore, the craftsmen hastily removed the name of Akhethotep from the walls of the tomb and added the name of Nebkauhor, as can be seen for example on the erased inscription on the first pillar, where Nebkauhor removed the name of Akhethotep and substituted it with his own name and titles. On the northern wall of the offering room, the name of Nebkauhor was written in red ink in preparation for carving it later. On the limestone sarcophagus in the burial chamber, Nebkauhor has not shown any scruples about erasing the name of the first tomb owner, and substituting it with his own name.

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<sup>729</sup> Harpur, *OEE database*

<sup>730</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14-15

<sup>731</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 14

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid*

Another argument for dating this tomb to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth is the tomb complex's chapel with a court and pillared hall, which can typologically be dated to the early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>733</sup>

The east-west oriented cult chapel with long north and south walls was entered from the north or south. The chapel's decorative program is similar to the decorative programs of multi-roomed chapels of the late Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth.<sup>734</sup>

The cult chapel of the tomb of Nebkauhor has the same plan as the tomb of Kagemni's cult chapel.<sup>735</sup> In the cult chapel, the upper part of the bench is surrounded with a cavetto-and-torus cornice on its southern and eastern sides. Similar benches form a standard part of the service equipment in Reisner's type 7 chapels in a number of important tombs of the end of the Fifth Dynasty and beginning of the Sixth at Giza and Saqqara.<sup>736</sup>

The *hkr*-frieze, which decorated the southern wall of the mortuary chapel, is typical for later Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>737</sup> The descending passage in this tomb has the same plan as the descending passage of the tomb of Niankhba, which dates to the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>738</sup> Both descending passages lie between the eastern wall of the pillared hall and the eastern row of the pillars, and both are cut into the bedrock.<sup>739</sup>

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<sup>733</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53, 89

<sup>734</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 16

<sup>735</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, passim; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 521-525

<sup>736</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 19

<sup>737</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, 22

<sup>738</sup> *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 629

<sup>739</sup> Hassan, *Hemet-Re*, 48

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